DELLUMS CHALLENGES CONVENTION

SEE PAGE 4

THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



VOL. XV NO. 15 SATURDAY, JULY 24, 1976

25¢

Elaine Brown Issues Statement At N.Y. Convention

"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS ABANDONED BLACK PEOPLE"





Racist Georgia delegate at 1924 Democratic Convention (left). In her statement on the 1976 Convention, BPP chairperson Elaine Brown stressed that, "The Democratic Party. . .has abandoned Black people, working people and all the oppressed and disenfranchised people of this country. . . ."

The following statement was issued by Ms. Elaine Brown, chairperson and leading member of the Black Panther Party, on July 15, 1976. The statement was issued in New York City, where Elaine was an official delegate to the Democratic National Convention from California.

"The Democratic Party has taken a clear turn to the right and has abandoned Black people, the working people and all the oppressed and disenfranchised people of this country. It is time the Black people, the working people and all oppressed and disenfranchised people abandon the Democratic Party. It is time the Black people, the working people and all the oppressed and disenfranchised people build a political party of their own.

"I am ashamed of a number of Black people who are delegates to this Democratic Convention, led by a new breed of Uncle Toms like Andrew Young and Jesse Jackson, who have embraced the reactionary scheme of Jimmy Carter and the theme of this Convention.

"At this Convention there are less Blacks and less women than in 1972. There has been no discussion of any of the important issues facing the people of this country. The platform is shaky, mealy-mouthed rhetoric that does not represent anything practical. The Democratic Party and its leadership have refused to seriously address the real questions of unemployment, the problems of the urban crisis and the most important issues facing the working people, the Blacks, the Native

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EDITORIAL

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

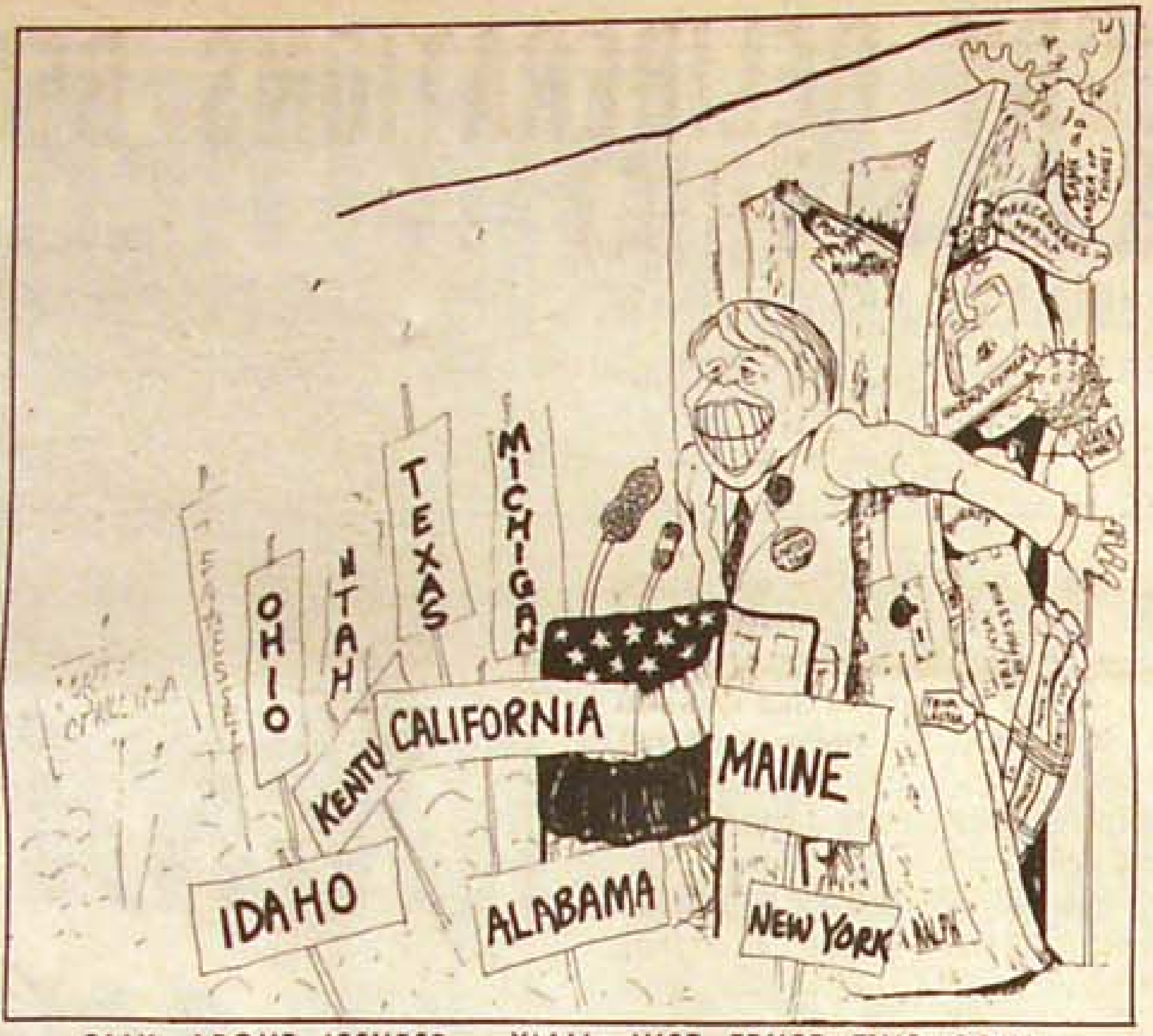
There was something key missing at the Democratic National Convention, something all the smiles, grins and piled up peanut shells in the world cannot hide: that is, a real and serious debate on the issues which affect the lives of Black and poor oppressed people throughout this country, indeed, the world.

Instead, we were offered a gaudy, three-ring circus, a four-day media spectacular complete with peanut costumed clowns and silly fools who would jump through rings for the new "boss-man."

For far too many of the Blacks involved, the Democratic Convention was a shameless exhibition of superficial, unprincipled unity. It was a tacky window display thrown together at the expense of the development of a concrete program geared toward the solution of the serious problems of racism, unemployment, deteriorating urban areas, inadequate health care, senior citizen abuse, redistribution of the world's wealth. . .the list goes on. "It is not enough for us to speak of harmony until all our people can participate," Congressman Ronald Dellums told the delegates. (See page 4.)

In contrast to Dellums, like Black and White, stood Andrew Young. Annointed as a "leader" for Blacks by *The New York Times*, Young initiated, perpetuated and led the Great Betrayal of 1976, embracing Jimmy Carter and his noncampaign as Sammy Davis embraced Richard Nixon in 1972. And just as Carter endorses Ford's pardon of Nixon, Young voted to endorse Ford as Vice-President.

For Andrew Young to publicly announce that, "I'm ready to lay down the burden of racism" — a remark all-too-remindful of Booker T. Washington's infamous "Atlanta Compromise" speech calling for Blacks of that era to "Cast down your buckets where you are" — is disgraceful, a naked capitulation to the racist, reactionary forces of power and fortune. In the past, the Black Panther Party has carefully maintained and encouraged a position of principled unity among Blacks, but Andrew Young's "Uncle Tom" routine is more than even the most tolerant should endure. "Lay down the burden of racism"?. . .in the face of the rise of rampant White reaction across the length and breadth of this land?. . .without question or discussion of the issues of human survival?. . .for "peanuts"?□



TALK ABOUT ISSUES? Y'ALL JUST TRUST THIS GRIN.

Letters to the Editor

FREE GERALD GARRET

To Those It May Concern:

I think it's essential that well-meaning, progressive people in the movement should print up some of the information passed to me by the Committee To Free Gerald Garret. I've had faith in the Panther Party since I was first introduced to it. I was a member of the St. Louis Chapter. I sold papers and moved on the brothers and sisters on the block.

As true proletarians working for the survival of our people, we must free the Johnny Spains, J.B. Johnsons, Gerald Garrets, Hurricane Carters and brothers in exile, meaning Huey P. Newton. As a member of the Gerald Garret Defense Committee; Young Eternal Souls; chairman of the J.B. Johnson Support Club and minister of defense of the United Street People, I ask you as a comrade in the faith of the masses to print and circulate information about this young brother, Gerald Garret. We as a people need to end the racist frame-ups and incarcerations in this country.

Power to the oppressed,
Elliott C. Clark
Rockville, Md. 20854

DEATH PENALTY HURTS BLACKS

Dear Editor,

It it is permissable to ask ourselves questions in order to raise our consciousness of our place in these United States, then maybe we, as the minority in general and Blacks in particular, should question ourselves with respect to the newly instituted death penalty that is to be imposed for certain crimes.

Here, I will restate two excerpts taken from the Saturday July 3, 1976, edition of the Atlanta Constitution; the article was written by Claudia Townsend. Those excerpts are: "Governors of each state could commute individual sentences to life. Any case in which the death penalty is imposed is automatically subject to review by the Georgia Supreme Court, which must, among other things, check to be sure that the penalty imposed is not out of line with sentences meted out to other defendants in similar cases?

Could the new decision handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court on July 3, 1976, concerning the death penalty be as erroneous as the previous laws? The high court's decision makes it permissable for the governors of each state to commute death sentences to life sentences. How many Black governors do we have in the U.S.? What are the probabilities that the respective state governors will take the "concern for self and kind" attitude in commuting individual sentences?

Speaking specifically of Georgia: What good is it to have each case which carries the death penalty subject to review by the Georgia Supreme Court when the ultimate decision as to whether a human being lives or dies is the responsibility of one man — the governor? Any governor could be partial in commuting these sentences and avoid being scorned for racism by "showing that particular individuals were more deserving than others."

Are we, as Blacks, minorities, and poor Whites going to look at the imposition of the death penalty through rose-colored glasses? Or are we going to take still another in-depth look at the means by which these sentences are handled both before and after the conviction?

Robert Morris, Jr.
Georgia State Prison
Reidsville, Ga.

MORE LETTERS ON PAGE 25

COMMENT

"Trying To Help Mama Eat A Little Better"

Linda Jones (an alias) lives in a Harlem housing project wih her mother, who is on welfare, and her daughter. She dropped out of high school five years ago because of pregnancy. With limited skills, she hasn't been able to find a job. She entered a community college, but couldn't continue because of a lack of funds. More recently, she entered a city training program that may be forced to close for lack of money. This article was adapted from a taped interview with The New York Times.

When I was young, I was more or less my aunt's daughter. That's why I guess I had it so good, because my aunt used to give me a lot of things and used to talk to me more than my mother did. She told me almost everything I can really think of, and then what I learned in the street. Other than that, it's kind of shaky.

Today, if people don't watch their children, they're going to be selling drugs as soon as they get old enough. They hit eleven, or twelve, or ten, they'll be selling it out there. Because a lot of kids don't go to school as much as they used to. They drop out of school; they get bored with school. "Why should I get a diploma when I can get out here and sell dope and make much more money?" So, they're dropping out of school.

They're out there selling it, and they sell it pretty good. They know when a cop is coming. Everybody'll call out and say, "Here comes somebody!"

The younger they are, the better it is for the man who's giving them this because, once you get eighteen, or whatever, you're a risk. They don't care if you go to jail.

So, I be saying that I want to get into it, but then I say, "No, I'm too scared of that."

When I was growing up in Harlem, it seemed much better and looked like an easier life to handle. You didn't see many bums on the street, or people

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THE BLACK PANTHER
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 8501 EAST 14th STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621. TELEPHONE: (415) 638-0195.
YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $10.00
SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA



PINE RIDGE MURDER TRIAL

A.I.M. Activists Acquitted

(Cedar Rapids, Iowa) - A federal court jury last week found two American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders not guilty of killing two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation last summer.

The jury of eight men and four women acquitted Darelle (Dino) Butler, 34, and Robert Robideau, 29, on its fifth day of deliberations.

The two AIM members were accused of killing FBI agents Jack Coler and Ronald Williams, both of Los Angeles, during a government attack on the South Dakota Oglala Sioux reservation on June 26, 1975. A Native American, Joe Stuntz, was killed by the federal authorities, but no one was ever charged for his murder.

When the verdict was read, the entire courtroom burst into applause. The defense was visibly surprised and overjoyed.

"HOPELESSLY DEADLOCKED"

During its deliberations, the jury had told presiding Judge Edward McManus on two different occasions that it was "hopelessly deadlocked." McManus had refused to declare a mistrial and told the jury to redouble its efforts or another panel would have to be called.

During the trial, noted defense attorney William Kunstler conceded that the agents had been killed in a shootout but placed the blame for their deaths on the atmosphere of fear and terror on Pine Ridge Reservation which federal, state and local law enforcement agencies created.

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JURY DELIBERATIONS BEGIN IN S.Q. 6 TRIAL

(San Rafael, Calif.) - Now it's up to the jury.

Almost a year since the first witness took the stand (on July 28, 1975), and almost 16 months since the jury selection process began (on March 23, 1975), a group of 11 Whites and one Black were booked into a nearby motel last Thursday evening to deliberate the fate of the San Quentin 6. It has been the longest criminal proceedings in California history, costing the state nearly $2 million.

The jury's task — compiled in over 22,000 pages of court transcripts — essentially boils down to this: did the six Black and Brown defendants conspire with Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson in a spectacular bid for freedom, resulting in the prison system's bloodiest afternoon of violence, or did California state officials and others plot the assassination of the famous author/revolutionary, succeeding in their mission but paying a terrible price?

During the proceedings at the heavily secured Marin County Courthouse here, the prosecution, led by assistant D.A. Jerry Herman, is working on a 12-count indictment, the key element being a "gun-in-a wig" tale, the see-through claim that Jackson smuggled a small .9 mm Astra automatic and two clips under an Afro wig back to the Adjustment Center.



Fallen Comrade GEORGE JACKSON.

The defense, on the other hand, asserts that AC guard Paul Krasnes, later slain, illegally brought the gun into the prison in his back pocket, pulling it out as Jackson undressed following a visit with lawyer Stephen Bingham.

The defense also charges that George Jackson was not killed as he ran across the AC yard, but was assassinated while he lay on the ground, wounded in the ankle and unable to move.

In brief, the defense for the San Quentin 6 goes like this:

•Johnny Larry Spain, 26, a member of the Black Panther Party, represented by attorney Charles R. Garry. Spain's defense is one of "impaired consciousness," a psychological state similar to being shell-shocked, where persons under extreme stress black out for temporary periods of time. Throughout the trial Garry attacked both racism and the "cesspool-like" conditions in the AC. It was Garry who, in a stunning move, brought forward the critical testimony of star witness Louis Tackwood, a Black ex-agent provocateur who named 18 federal, state and local law enforcement officials involved in the plot to murder George Jackson.

•Hugo Pinell, 31, the only one of the Six to represent himself. Pinell maintained that his life has been threatened by Department of Corrections brutality and

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Legal Aid Program Sponsors Soledad Show

(Soledad, Calif.) - Inmates of the South Wing of Soledad Prison enjoyed some top-flight entertainment here recently at a special show sponsored by the Legal Aid and Educational Program of the Oakland Community Learning Center.

Entertainment for the successful show was provided by the talented WAJUMBA DANCERS who have been performing throughout the country for the past eight years; PEOPLE'S PEOPLE, a jazz, rock group that has appeared in shows at other California penal institutions; Ms. VALERIE BLAKE, a graduate student at the San Francisco Conservatory of Music whose husband is incarcerated in Soledad; and LOVE, POWER AND STRENGTH, a community-oriented singing group made up of Black Panther Party members.

This was the first show Soledad Prison has allowed since 1972.

BPINS photo

TEXT OF CONGRESSMAN RON DELLUMS' ADDRESS TO DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

"WE MUST KEEP COMMITTED TO LOFTY IDEALS"

A highlight of the proceedings of last week's Democratic National Convention was the speech made on Thursday, July 15, by California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums. The following is the text of the esteemed Black legislator's remarks in which he in no uncertain terms challenged the Democratic Party to address itself to the issues and problems that affect the masses of Black, poor and oppressed people in America. It is significant to note that Congressman Dellums, along with Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown and several others, refused to switch their delegate votes from California Governor Jerry Brown to Jimmy Carter.



California Congressman RONALD V. DELLUMS.

"I would first like to thank my esteemed colleagues for giving me this opportunity and thank those of you who provided me with this right to speak to you this afternoon.

"I do not come before you because I seek the nomination of the Vice Presidency of the United States, but rather it is my desire to call every resource that is within me to communicate a few ideas that I think are important and critical.

ABSURD POLITICS

"I believe that the American people on November 2 are prepared to reject the simplistic, absurd politics of the past eight years of the Nixon-Agnew-Rockefeller-Ford era in this country, and they will do it in no uncertain terms.

"But it is very important that you and I carry forward the position of our people. Do not be so imbued with the notion of winning that we do not realize that winning must have some purpose; that we must keep committed to some lofty ideals; that we must be committed to righting the wrongs in this country and challenging the evil; that we must be willing to achieve a policy of life that is worthy of all of us in this country.

"At what better moment, given the backdrop of the Bicentennial year, as we move into the third century of the country, that we say to the American people that we will open up our processes; that we will have our candidate and our party to go forward between now and November to clearly and unequivocally address the critical and vital interests of our time in this country; that we will not have a non-issue oriented campaign; that we will speak to the human misery that is all too real.

"Life is hell for tens of thousands of people in America who cannot find work, who cannot pay their rent and who cannot buy food. It

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THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

July 18, 1863

The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers, an all-Black regiment, made a famous charge on Fort Wagner in the Charleston, South Carolina, harbor on July 18, 1863. William H. Carney, a Black sergeant, won a Congressional Medal of Honor for his bravery in the charge.

July 19-23, 1919

Six persons were killed and 150 wounded in a racial disturbance in Washington, D.C., that occurred July 19 to 23, 1919. There were 26 such incidents altogether during the "Red Summer" of 1919.

July 22, 1939

Jane Matilda Bolin became the first Black woman judge in the U.S. on July 22, 1939, when she was appointed judge of the Court of Domestic Relations by New York Mayor Fiorello La Guardia.

July 21, 1962

At least 161 Black demonstrators were jailed after a civil rights demonstration in Albany, Georgia, on July 21, 1962. By August 1, almost 1,000 demonstrators had been arrested in this Georgia city.

July 18, 1964

A Black rebellion erupted in Harlem on July 18, 1964. The revolt spread to the Bedford-Styuvesant section of Brooklyn and continued for several days.

July 25, 1972

U.S. government officials admitted on July 25, 1972, that Blacks were used as guinea pigs in syphilis experiments at Tuskegee Institute (Alabama) and that physicians permitted 400 victims to go untreated for 40 years. The study was organized to determine from autopsies what syphilis did to the human body.



Dallas tenants demand decent housing.

WEST PARK APARTMENTS

Dallas Tenants Win Rent Strike, Move To Own Their Homes

(Dallas, Texas) - After an immensely successful rent strike in the low income West Park Apartments, tenants here are now seriously considering buying the complex through a tenants' cooperative, a spokesperson announced last week.

Dallas Black Panther Party leader Fred Bell, who is the coordinator of the proposed cooperative, stated that the owner, Paul Oman of Los Angeles, had told tenants to "take the apartments off my hands. . .I'm not making any profits off them anyway."

"Oman told us during a meeting," reiterated Ms. Patsy Anthony, spokesperson for the West Park Tenants' Association, "that if we were interested in the status of the apartments, we should take them off his hands.

SERIOUS INQUIRIES

"I don't know for sure if he was serious," she said, "but we took it seriously. We've made serious inquiries into what it would take to take the apartments off his hands."

Fred Bell explained: "We talked to HUD (Housing and Urban Development) officials about the possibilities of buying the apartments through a cooperative. They told us they could guarantee loans to a coop, up to 100 per cent of the loan."

Bell stated that the specifics for a tenants' cooperative would be completed within the next couple of weeks, and then it would be a matter of formality getting the state's approval.

The idea of this cooperative came after a rent strike settlement between Oman and the tenants.

The strike, which lasted for about a month, was so successful

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STATEMENT FROM THE SAN ANTONIO TENANTS' UNION

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents the "Statement from San Antonio Tenants' Union," delivered to the Oakland Housing Authority Commission on Tuesday, July 14, and signed by 25 to 30 politically active residents.

We, the concerned residents of San Antonio Villa, strongly protest and condemn the negligent and hostile attitude of the Oakland Housing Authority and its executive director, Harold Davis, for failing to fulfill their responsibilities to provide our community with decent and adequate housing facilities, a right of all human beings.

Rather than attempt to maintain and upgrade the conditions we and our families are forced to endure, Davis and the OHA — through a series of scandalous *Oakland Tribune* articles — publicly blame the residents of San Antonio Villa for these disgraceful housing problems. They then compound this disrespect by hiring security guards and calling in Oakland police officers who threaten and abuse our children, harass our visitors and friends, creating a "martial law" atmosphere in the community we call "home."

Let us say then, from the outset, that if Harold Davis or anyone else says we choose to live this way, then he is a boldfaced liar and we demand his dismissal as executive director of the Oakland Housing Authority.

Our grievances are many and varied:

A. *The Physical Conditions Within Our Apartments.*

1) Lack of effective extermination for rats and roaches.
2) Plumbing, heating and wiring in general state of disrepair.
3) The need for new paint. We are not painters nor are we paid for this work.

B. *The Physical Conditions Outside Our Apartments.*

1) The need for more than once-a-week garbage pick-up, to avoid trash overflow. The need to effectively clean the garbage bins and shutes.
2) Lights and rubber matting on the stairways to avoid accidents.
3) New clotheslines.
4) Lack of effective extermination for rats and rodents.

In general, good, fast and efficient maintenance is almost impossible to obtain in San Antonio Villa. Plus, we question the special payment for service that should rightfully be included in our rent, not additional to it.

C. *Safety*

1) Better street lighting both within the Villa and on the adjacent streets.
2) Security guards who are nonabusive, trained and sensitive to the needs of the residents. Preferential hiring for Villa residents.
3) The immediate removal from San Antonio Villa of Oakland police officers: Tyson, Turner, Gaston, Kimbrough, Mast, Mari and Musch. These particular officers, along with unidentified others, have directly contributed to the creation of a "martial law" atmosphere in our community, and have harassed our children and ourselves. Several of these officers have had reports filed against them with the OPD Internal Affairs Department for abusing local residents.

D. *Recreation*

1) The area's only recreation center is a disgraceful, dilapidated structure which endangers the health and safety of our children. It should be immediately removed and replaced with a new, fully equipped facility. In addition, small, safe recreational areas for our children can and must be provided.□



BPINS photo

San Antonio youth have poor recreational facilities.



BPINS photo

San Antonio residents, led by BESSIE THOMAS (center), voice their complaints to an Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) Commissioner (left).

ELDERLY CHINESE AND FILIPINOS VOW TO CONTINUE FIGHT

I-HOTEL TENANTS WIN ANOTHER STAY OF EVICTION

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A state Court of Appeals has ordered a temporary halt to eviction proceedings at this city's International Hotel last week, delaying the removal of its elderly and poor tenants just 36 hours before a prior court notice was to become official.

Appellate Court Judge John Malineri granted the Tenants' Association a temporary stay of eviction until the full appeals court decides whether to allow residents to live in the hotel through the appeals proceedings.

It's OK, it's no big deal," said Joe Diones, the 65 year-old manager and head of the Tenants Association at the hotel, located at 848 Kearny Street, here in the city. "It doesn't mean we won. It doesn't mean we could sit down and relax. We'll have to face the court again and this only gives us a chance for a breather."

The Tenants' Association is appealing Superior Court Judge Ira Brown's decision to recognize "the owner's right to evict." By his decision, Brown cleared the way for the Four Seas Corporation, the hotel's current owner, to demolish the building and redevelop the Chinatown site for commercial purposes in the future.

RELUCTANT

Prior to this latest ruling San Francisco County Sherriff Richard Hongisto was very reluctant to evict the 80 tenants at the Intenational Hotel (I-Hotel). Hongisto frankly stated, "The largest part of my job is executing laws which have a bias against poor people. . . The governmental process reflects institutionalized racism, economic discrimination and systematized enforced unemployment."

At a rally organized by KDP, a progressive Filipino organization in support of the I-Hotel tenants, Harold Fong, a member of the Worker's Committee to Fight for the International Hotel, stated, "If you come to evict us, we will be out on Kearny Street."

One of the elderly tenants of the I-Hotel, most of whom are Chinese and Filipino, said, "Today, in Chinatown, it's very crowded. It's hard to find a place to live, so we're determined not to move."

At an adjacent building which is also owned by the Hong Kong-based Four Seas Corp., the Victory Hotel, the 30 residents there have also received eviction notices and have also pledged not





The elderly tenants of I-Hotel refuse to move. Tenants' Association members (right) speak out at a recent rally.

to move. Supporters of the tenants say they have collected over 5,500 signatures on petitions to halt eviction and said that they will continue to fight Four Seas.

The struggle at the 153-unit hotel has been going on for eight years. In 1968, the previous owner, Walter Shorenstein, attempted to convert the property into a parking lot.

He took out a demolition permit," said tenant organizer Emil De Guman, "and started issuing eviction notices."

After considerable effort and with the aid of the United Filipino Association, this eviction move was warded off. Then a mysterious fire broke out which killed three tenants and heavily dam-

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Ms. RUBY JONES and Legal Services attorney LARRY FARRIS ask community for help in finding a home for Ms. Jones and her three children.

Milwaukee Woman Continues Struggle For Decent Housing

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - Despite her court victory over indecent housing, a Black woman, Mrs. Ruby Lee Jones, and her three small children still face eviction and the city of Milwaukee has yet to find a suitable dwelling for the family.

Three months ago, Mrs. Jones took the city of Milwaukee to court — with the help of the Milwaukee Tenants Union (MTU) and Milwaukee Legal Services (MLS) — in an effort to get her run-down, city-owned flat repaired. She won the case in only one day of trial. The settlement required that the Department of City Development locate a suitable residence for her family by July 1, or pay $900 in damages.

Now the city is claiming that they cannot find a suitable place for Mrs. Jones and her family. Although she has been awarded a $900 check she says that this can hardly compensate for not having anywhere to stay.

According to a MTU staff

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PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Files Released

(Chicago, Illinois) - A federal judge has ordered Chicago police to turn over to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) secret intelligence files on 150 organizations and individuals, including the Black Panther Party. The ruling came in response to a suit filed by the ACLU and nine other organizations and 17 individuals who charge their rights were violated by police spying. The files range from those kept on peace groups to those kept on political opponents of Mayor Richard J. Daley, community groups, labor unions and lawyers.

Police Guidelines Approved

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The Police Commission here recently approved guidelines which will allow passersby to act as witnesses when police make street arrests, reports the *San Francisco Chronicle*. "Peaceful citizens" may remain close enough to a street arrest to hear what is being said and may ask the suspect under arrest if he wants a witness to the arrest. The action was cheered by nearly 50 members of various community groups present at the meeting.

Arms Bill Signed

(Washington, D.C.) - President Ford has signed a $32.5 billion weapons procurement bill that authorizes production of the B-1 bomber and earmarks a record $6.7 billion to expand the Navy's fleet. Ford also signed 2 other major spending bills including one which appropriates $8.3 billion for the Treasury Department, Postal Service, the Civil Service Commission, and the Executive Office of the Presidency.

Nuclear Plant Deaths

(Washington, D.C.) - The possible death toll resulting from a major nuclear power plant explosion may be two to ten times higher than official government estimates, reports a new study by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The EPA study revises government figures of 3,300 persons killed instantly following a major nuclear accident and up to 33,000 dying of cancer over the next 20 to 30 years to between 66,000 and 330,000 cancer deaths.

OVER 40 PER CENT

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR BLACK YOUTH STILL ON THE RISE

(New York, N.Y.) - The unemployment rate among Black youth is rising to frightening proportions and there are indications that there will be no change in this trend in the near future.

Economists point out that in this country's current recession, unemployment among Black youth is the highest and the most unyielding. A *New York Times* feature stressed that there is little chance of Black teenagers moving out of this "perpetual state of joblessness or of getting out of the syndrome which offers nothing but low-paying jobs with no security or chances for advancement."

Commenting on the problem, 16-year-old Denise Davis said, "I don't fit into school anymore. I don't have a husband or a baby to take care of. And I don't have a job. I just feel lost."

The false projections that joblessness among Black teenagers will be reduced by the normal process of labor market activity is contradicted by the persistence of jobless rates even in prosperous times.

In 1955, the jobless rate for Black teenagers was 15.8 per cent, compared with 10.3 per cent for Whites of the same age. In 1965, it was 26.4 per cent, compared with 13.4 per cent for Whites, and in 1973, it was 30.2 per cent for Blacks compared with 12.6 per cent for White youth.

RECENT STATISTICS

The most recent statistics are even more depressing. As of June, 1976, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the unemployment rate for Black teenagers was 40.3 per cent, compared to 16.1 per cent for Whites of the same age group. This figure represents an increase in the rate for Blacks from the previous month and a decrease for Whites.

Describing the "double disadvantage" faced by minority youth, Mervin D. Field, the director of the Field Research Corporation in Los Angeles, stated, "Because of their age, they haven't had time to establish their work record. And because of their race, they have a harder time because programs especially designed for Blacks have almost disappeared.

"The failure to attack these problems," he said, "is tantamount to writing off the future of Black people."

New York Times reporter Charlayne Hunter interviewed hundreds of Black teenagers about their near hopeless situation. Here is what a few of them had to say:

Rachel Smith: "I don't think I have much of a future. I just get by from day to day."

Michael Wilson: "The Man may not like the way I survive, but I'm not going to lie down and die."

Vernon Evans: "Employers are very afraid to hire Black men. Even if you come in clean-shaven, short hair, looking real nice, they think you are going to rob the place or do some kind of damage."

Ms. Davis: "I don't want to start cleaning people's houses. But what else can I do?"□



Black youth face high unemployment, even in times of prosperity.

9 TEXAS COUNTIES

Intense Voter Registration Drive Begins

(San Antonio, Texas)- Two nationally known minority political empowerment organizations — the Voter Education Project (VEP) and the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVREP) — have targeted nine Texas counties for intensive minority voter registration and citizenship education assistance in 1976.

Local organizations in the south-central Texas counties which include Brazos, Travis, Bexar, Harris, Fort Bend, Galls,



Demonstration for voter rights.

Galveston, Leon, and Shelby, will receive nonpartisan assistance in the form of small grants and technical advice for the purpose of increasing the rates of minority voter registration and minority voter turnout.

"We are working to show that a minority political coalition, composed of Blacks and Mexican-Americans who have, until recently, been denied access to the political process, can have a positive impact for all the citizens of Texas," said John Lewis, excecutive director of the Atlanta based Voter Education Project.

"Our objective is to foster a sense of cooperation and unity between these two minority groups which have historically followed separate paths of development."

"While many Americans are celebrating the Bicentennial anniversary of their participation in American government, we are still working so that Blacks, Spanish speaking and Native Americans can have a voice and full participation in the social, political, and economic arenas,"

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"DEMOCRATIC PARTY"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Americans, the Puerto Rican people, the Mexican people, the Latino people, the Asian-American people, women and gays. The program is at its weakest in respect to U.S. relations with foreign countries, echoing Henry Kissinger and the Nixon and Ford administrations. Millions of working people and poor people in this country are misled into believing that the Democratic Party represents their interests. This Convention proves beyond any doubt that, as it is with the Republican Party, money is all that talks. I call for all poor people and all progressive people still in the Democratic Party to leave and begin to work with all the poor and working people of this country to build our own political party."☐



ANDREW YOUNG, congressman.



ELAINE BROWN

"We Must Keep Committed To Lofty Ideals"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

is our responsibility here as we speak of victory to understand that victory comes within the context of democratic process and that winning must always speak to the people's victory.

"We, at this point, must re-energize the notion of Lincoln's great triad — that this is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. As we leave this convention let us reject the notion that has dominated the political scene for the past 10 years: that is, politics of the few, by the few and for the few; of the money, by the money, for the money; of the powerful, by the powerful and for the powerful. Let us rededicate ourselves to the notion that this is a government of the people, by the people and for all the people — Black, Brown, Red, Yellow, White, women, young, old, workers, students. This is our land in this country.

COMPROMISE

"I can understand that there was an effort made to make a compromise with respect to the participation of people, but given the fact that women are half of the world, half of this country, half of this party, I can't understand why it is controversial that women should make up half of the decision-making process in America.

"I do not seek the Vice Presidency, but if I did I would say to you in all candor: It is not enough to go from this place committed to peace unless our definition of peace says that peace is more than simply the absence of war, but is the presence of justice, love, equity and cooperation. That it is not enough to put five to seven billion dollars on our military budget but that we redirect the priorities of America, that we reshape our role in the world so that we are not committed to the monuments of madness, of war, death and destruction.

TIME FOR PEACE

"It is time for peace. We can no longer play the role of gunrunner of the world, police officer of the world, most powerful counterinsurgency force of the world. Our world is growing smaller and increasingly interdependent, and we have a responsibility to lead, to be an advocate of peace; to reduce the proliferation of bombs and mayhem; to reject the B-1 bomber; to reject the Strident submarine; to reject all the monuments of death and destruction that have wiped out tens of thousands of our human beings.

"It is not enough for us to go from this place saying that we can leave Vietnam behind us. The balance of our young people still suffer the adversity of a war that was illegal, immoral and insane. Total amnesty for all of our young people!

"It is not enough for us to go from this place and reject colonialism as long as we are not willing to recognize the need for independence and self-determination of the Puerto Rican people.

"It is not enough to be opposed to colonialism when Walter Fauntroy cannot vote for the residents of the District of Columbia on the floor of the United States Congress.

"We must recognize the peoples of Angola and Mozambique. We must play a role that is vitally important in our history.

"It is not enough to go from this place saying we will sign a full employment bill, but will our candidate and our people go forward in this land developing the necessary support that understands the need for all human beings to be able to have a job, to grow, flourish, prosper and realize his total and fullest potential?

"It is not enough for us to speak of harmony until all our human beings in this country are fully capable of participating.

"I offer this challenge to you, and I offer this challenge to our candidates: that they go forward guaranteeing the full participation of people; that they open up this campaign to a serious debate on the vital and critical issues of our time.

"As we enter the last quarter of the twentieth century, let it not be said that this administration would not guarantee the people that we would develop a new consensus in this country. That is all I'm here to talk about.

"I do not take this podium in antagonism. I take it in advocacy. I do not take this podium in confrontation but in offering a challenge. I do not take this podium in order to engage in divisive rhetoric but, more importantly, to exercise the democratic right to express a point of view that is important. Dr. King once said, 'It is not a question of what is popular, of what is safe and what is expedient. The ultimate question that conscience must always raise is: 'Is it right what we do?'

"I thank all of you, John Conyers, the hundreds of people who signed our petition and you in this room and throughout this country who took a few minutes to hear what is in my spirit as much as is in my head, as much as is in my hope for this country and my hope for this world.

"I take this opportunity now to say that I understand our Presidential nominee has chosen Mr. Mondale, a good and decent person. At this moment I accept the reality of his right to do it, and I thank you. I now withdraw my name from the nomination for the higher office of the Vice Presidency of the United States. Thank you."☐

From Calif. Caucus Of Minority Women

"Today, a California Caucus of Native American, Chicana, Asian and Black women was formed to deal with the Democratic Party's lack of concern with the issues relevant to minority women in our state, such as child care, health and unemployment. We felt on these and other issues discussion was stifled at the Democratic Convention. No candidate can win the support of minority women until that candidate and the party face up to those issues that affect the everyday lives of people left out of the economic system of our country. We demand that the Democratic Party provide equitable participation in the political processes of the party."



Police agent on surveillance.

ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES

F.B.I. Agent Takes "Fifth" 80 Times

(Washington, D.C.) - In a $37 million damage suit filed against the FBI, federal agent Joseph Furrer invoked his Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination over 80 times in his testimony last week.

Furrer, who has headed the FBI's investigation of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) since 1971, had to be ordered by U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa to answer questions as basic as whether he worked for the FBI. The SWP suit accuses the defendants of burglary, wire-tapping, mail tampering and other forms of harassment.

During a 45-minute session in the office of SWP lawyer Leonard Boudin last week, Furrer finally acknowledged he had been with the FBI for 26 years, but took the Fifth Amendment on such questions as whether his work had any connection with the SWP. At a court session Judge Griesa suggested that Furrer is one of at least 20 agents who are under Justice Department investigation for domestic break-ins that occurred in 1972 and 1973 — six years after the FBI claimed its "black bag" jobs had ended. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

Among the questions Furrer refused to answer was whether he knew of any surveillance, burglaries or wiretaps against Boudin and members of his law firm. Furrer's refusal to answer was significant because the targets of the 1972-73 break-ins were families and friends of Weather Underground fugitives. Boudin's daughter Kathy is one of the group's leaders and has been eluding the FBI for nearly eight years.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

"BLACKS ARE PRIMITIVE PEOPLE"

SEATTLE MEN RECRUIT MERCENARIES FOR RHODESIA

(Seattle, Wash.) - Despite the recent execution of four foreign mercenaries in Angola and the long-term prison sentences given to their nine co-defendants, mercenaries are actively being recruited here to fight against Zimbabwean liberation forces in Rhodesia, the *Seattle Times* reports.

"Duke" and "Rommel" (the latter was a general under Adolph Hitler in Nazi Germany) are the aliases of the two men who earn their living supplying information assistance to prospective mercenaries to fight on the side of Rhodesia's White minority settler regime. The mercenary recruiters use small Seattle-area newspapers to advertise for men between 18 and 30 who are self-styled "anti-communists" or who seek money and adventure in Africa.

Out of fear for their lives, "Duke" and "Rommel" do not want their real names published. Their headquarters is the basement of a house near Green Lake where they regularly conduct eight-hour seminars on Rhodesia.

In an interview with the *Seattle Times*, "Duke," 27, said that about 100 people have paid up to $20 for information on being a mercenary in Rhodesia, but that so far Tom Nobles is the only one who has been accepted by the Rhodesian government of "Prime Minister" Ian Smith.

"Duke," who served as a platoon leader in Vietnam, claims that there is nothing illegal about his work because he is not recruiting mercenaries for Rhodesia but merely providing interested people with information. "It's completely legal to learn how to become a mercenary," he insists.

Commenting on the execution of the four foreign mercenaries and the sentencing of their American and British colleagues, a smiling "Duke" referred to them as "the misbegotten fools on trial in Angola." He insisted that no real mercenary would allow himself to be caught.



Mercenaries recruited in the U.S. are responsible for the murders of thousands of African people struggling for their liberation.

Tom Nobles, 23, insists that he is not a mercenary but a man with a moral commitment to fight "communism" and that to serve with the military forces of the Smith regime in Rhodesia is an opportunity to fight evil. Nobles will leave for Rhodesia later this month where he will earn $2,000 a month in whatever currency he chooses.

According to Nobles, who lives in Bellevue, Washington, he is not a "bona fide" mercenary because "This is not something I would do for just anyone. I wouldn't have gone to Angola or Vietnam. A bona fide mercenary would have."

In Rhodesia, Nobles will serve as an "anti-terrorist" police officer. Along with nine Black government troops he will live for six to eight weeks in the Rhodesian countryside. "We'll literally carry on guerrilla warfare against terrorists — use their own methods against them in search-and-destroy missions," he explained.

The ex-Navy man denies that the White government in Rhodesia is racist. "It's more of an experiment of Blacks and Whites living together," Nobles said, adding: "Ninety per cent of the Blacks in Rhodesia are primitive peoples. . .They're going to have to be brought into the 20th century. Tribal life is stagnant, and I think that is bad. . . "□

South Carolina Black Man Framed On Murder Charges

(Greenville, S.C.) - A 21-year-old Black man was recently convicted here on false murder charges and faces a mandatory death sentence after a trial of discrepancies and conflicting testimony.

Charles Wakefield was falsely accused of having killed Lt. Frank Looper of the Greenville County Sheriff's Department and Looper's father, Rufus, on January 31, 1975, during an alleged armed robbery attempt.

Wakefield, who was indicted for the crime nine months after it occurred, was indicted and convicted on the testimony of two Greenville County Jail inmates who were offered reduced sentences in exchange for testifying against Wakefield.



CHARLES WAKEFIELD

One of the inmates, Silas Jones, lied on the witness stand when he said that he heard Wakefield discussing the murder with another inmate. Jones was released months before the expiration of his sentence. Others in the jail also reported that police had offered deals to them to testify against Wakefield.

During his trial, Wakefield was never positively identified as the murderer, and the alleged murder weapon was never introduced into court. At the time of the murder, Wakefield was at the home of 63-year-old James Brown working on a car and later at his cousin's house.

At the home of his cousin, Rebecca Lawrence, Wakefield spent most of the day helping her preapare some income tax forms. Testifying in court, Ms. Lawrence said Wakefield was acting "normal" and there was nothing unusual about his behavior.

Also, three prosecution witnesses gave three entirely different descriptions of what the alleged killer wore on January 31, 1975. None of the descriptions fit Wakefield's. A composite drawing which ran in the newspaper prior to the trial did not resemble Wakefield at all.

The prosecution's case was based primarily on the testimony of Wyatt Earp Harper who alleged in court that he was an accomplice to Wakefield in the crime. Harper was indicted months before on the charge of being an accessory, and police claimed that they did not publicize his arrest in order to protect his life.

In court Wakefield's attorney, Grove "Buddy" Parnell, charged Harper with making a deal with the police. Parnell also contended that Harper was the actual murderer because he fit the description given by one of the witnesses who saw the murderer.

Wakefield faces a mandatory death sentence, and Harper a maximum 10-year sentence on the accessory charge.

The general feeling in the Greenville Black community is that Wakefield was framed. A survey taken in Greenville County among 739 of its residents revealed that 72 per cent felt Wakefield was innocent and 77 per cent that he did not receive a fair trial because of the biased coverage of the local White racist news media. Law enforcement officials admitted that they were under extreme pressure to convict someone in the case.☐



SEEKS $125,000 IN DAMAGES FROM WASH. STATE

BLACK INMATE FILES SUIT AGAINST INHUMANE MEDICAL CARE

(Seattle, Wash.) - Wilford Davis, a Black inmate at Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla, Washington, has filed a claim for $125,000 in damages due to inhumane medical treatment.

Davis, convicted on a murder charge and now serving a life sentence, is paralyzed from the waist down after being shot in the spine in Oroville on November 28, 1974. After being shot he was taken to Deaconess Hospital in Wenatchee to receive specialized care.

While a patient at Wenatchee, Davis was attended to by a staff of medical personnel specially trained in the treatment of paraplegics. Davis had the use of extensive equipment and facilities designed for the training of the disabled and was visited by a neurosurgeon at least once every day.

After spending some time at Deaconess Hospital he was transferred to the Veterans Administration Hospital in Seattle, where again he received adequate and concerned specialized health care.

All this changed on April 19, 1975, when, immediately following his conviction, Davis was taken to the prison hospital at the Washington Correction Center at Shelton. Here, the quality of medical care he received drastically changed.

At Shelton, Davis was never seen by a physical therapist, a neurosurgeon or any nurse with training and understanding as to the treatment of paraplegics. Due to this he lost the ability to control his bowel movements, which he had learned at Deaconess.

BED SORES

Davis also developed bed sores which were treated with nothing but a plastic dressing spray. After enduring this treatment, Davis was transferred to the state penitentiary in Walla Walla, where treatment was worse.

The care he received at Walla Walla was so poor that, on one occasion, Davis fell out of a stretcher head first, after being left unattended, and laid on the floor for over five minutes before a nurse found him.

Davis is presently suffering from progressively worsening muscular and physical deterioration and is experiencing extreme mental pain and emotional distress.

In a claim filed against the state of Washington, Davis is asking for $125,000 in damages and an end to this barbaric treatment.☐

N.Y. Group Attacks Advertising Bias

(New York, N.Y) - The Harlem Council for Economic Development has launched an attack against large White corporations for their failure to place advertising in Black-owned media.

The group is specifically citing such stores as Sears-Roebuck, Korvette's, Macy's, Gimbel's and the large food chains. Korvette's, for example, spends over $33 million annually in New York City but none of this is budgeted to Black newspapers or Black-owned radio stations, reports the San Francisco *Sun-Reporter*.

Yet, Korvette's has had the nerve to sue a Black woman customer for $129.92 which she has owed since September of 1974. The woman has been ill since October of last year but she sent in $60 of the amount due in December of 1975. At present, Korvette's is suing the Black customer for a total of $66.30 over and above the $60.92 balance due from the original bill.

Korvette's, Macy's, Gimbel's and Sears regularly take three or more pages in the daily White news media while doing only token advertising in the Black media. The Harlem Council for Economic Development is demanding equality of treatment in advertising for the Black media and calls on Blacks to limit their spending to Black-owned businesses or to corporations which advertise in Black publications and radio stations.

FIVE INMATES FOUND HUNG

L.A. COMMUNITY GROUPS PROTEST COUNTY JAIL DEATHS

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Black, Chicano, Native American and other poor people of Los Angeles County gathered at the county jail here last Saturday, July 17, to protest the intolerably "cruel and unusual" conditions existing in local jails and prisons.

The community demonstration was sponsored by the Ted Collins Committee for Justice and Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA). The Ted Collins Committee was formed by relatives and friends of Ted Arthur Collins who was found mysteriously hung in his infirmary cell at the Los Angeles County Jail on April 2 of this year. Jail authorities claim that Ted hung himself despite the fact that he was strapped to a bed by thick, heavy leather restraints.

Ted was the fifth inmate to die in the county jail this year. Lee Shaw, Jeb Hall, Fred Smith and Larry Brown were also found mysteriously hung in their cells. The Ted Collins Committee and CAPA charge that each of the five deaths that have occurred so far in the county jail took place when the victims were isolated from witnesses. They were removed from their fellow prisoners so that their cries and struggles could not be heard.

The July 17 protest was the sixth and last in a series of local marches, rallies and forums on police abuse organized by CAPA during the last two months, building toward a massive countywide march and rally to be held in the Exposition Park area on July 31.

COUNTYWIDE

CAPA — a countywide organization made up of various community groups and justice committees seeking the elimination of police brutality and abuse of inmates in the jails and prisons — and the Justice for Anthony Brown Committee are demanding an investigation into the recent murder of 33-year-old Anthony Brown who was gunned down by the Los Angeles Police Department's (LAPD) SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactic) team. Brown, a former high school football coach and U.S. Army lieutenant, was a mental patient and was well known to persons in his neighborhood, including police, for his erratic behavior. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, July 10, 1976.)

CAPA has the following demands:

•Suspension without pay from the police department and indictment of all officers involved in the beatings and murders of Jimmy Blando, Timothy Grandpre, Barry Evans, Dewayne Williams, Rubin Castaneda, the Medrano family, Betty Scott, Ted Collins and Cartier Reedus;

•Elimination of the Internal Affairs Division, the current investigative arm of the LAPD, and the creation of an impartial community-controlled agency to investigate charges of police abuse and criminal misconduct.

•Establishment of a "special prosecutor" for all cases of police crime to be appointed by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and approved by a community-controlled agency set up to investigate such crimes;

•An end to the illegal involvement of police officers in deportations — no more deportations;

•Elimination of special tactics squads such as SWAT and "undercover agents" because of the general threat to the safety and welfare of the community and because their sole function is to destroy legitimate organizing efforts in the community; and

•An "independent investigation" of the Los Angeles County district attorney's office for its lack of indictments of police who have abused and terrorized community people.□



SWAT teams (above) are placed in our communities to kill and terrorize.



White Mob Attacks Black Marchers In Chicago

(Chicago, Ill.) - One hundred Black marchers, supposedly protected by police, were attacked by thousands of White racists last week as they marched in Southwest Chicago demanding open housing.

Chicago authorities had refused to issue a march permit for the protest but were overruled by federal Judge John Grady. However, he stipulated that the marchers could number no more than 250.

Rock-throwing and other acts of overt violence of the 10,500 Nazi-led White bigots who lined the Marquette Park march route resulted in the injury of 28 persons, including marcher JAMES HOLIDAY (above, on ground), who was struck down by a thrown object. The racists chanted, "White Power" and "Go Home Niggers." (See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for more details.)

Infiltration Of Chicago Teacher Groups Exposed

(Chicago, Ill.) - A broad list of groups and individuals in Chicago have been informed of a case of alleged surveillance and infiltration of their activities and membership of agents of the Chicago Police Department's Police Intelligence Division in cooperation with the federal government. A key agent has been named by local teachers' union members as being a prominent official of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), AFL-CIO. The charges, which have not been denied or refuted, are being circulated by members of the AFT in the June issue of their paper in Chicago, Research Associates International reporter Michael Gelb reports.

The June issue of *Substance*, published by a teachers' union unit, has released some documents obtained via an earlier lawsuit by the Afro-American Patrolmen's League. The documents and *Substance* indicate that Ms. Sheli Lulkin was denoted as "Agent 436" and used her position in the AFT and as a friend of Chicago Peace Council leader Sylvia Kushner to spy on unions, ethnic groups, feminist caucuses in and out of the union and a broad list of other local, national and international causes.

It is believed that many groups as yet unnamed may have been spied upon as a result of Lulkin's access to the offices of the Chicago Peace Council. These include Chile solidarity groups in the area.

One method used to identify Lulkin as "Agent 436" was simple arithmetic. Agent 436 gave detailed written reports of various groups and the reports always left out the name of Lulkin while including all others. The *Substance* article notes that "Red Squad" agents and officers sometimes spied on the same meeting while being unaware of each other's presence.

The report in *Substance* states that Lulkin's duties also included reportage on the Black Labor Convention organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1970, on the Memorial Rally for slain Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and on the Vietnam Veterans Against the War-Winter Soldier Organization

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...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt



MALCOLM X with PRINCE FAISAL during 1964 visit to Egypt.

In this week's excerpt from . . .And Bid Him Sing, *the center of attention focuses on the preparation of Malcolm X's historic document on racism in America presented to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at its 1964 meeting in Cairo, Egypt. BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-chief David Du Bois, author of this penetrating novel about Black Americans living in self-exile in Egypt, is very familiar with his subject matter having lived in Cairo for 12 years.*

PART 39

Two typists, young men, worked concentratedly on the stencils. I sat beside one. Suliman sat beside the other. We had brought the manuscript in before noon. It was now six in the evening.

It was hot and noisy in the large, crowded room. Small tables, each with a busy, perspiring typist hard at work, sat side by side in several rows. Two persons moved constantly among them answering questions, handing out stencils, picking up finished work or handing out new. Four antiquated fans rotated unsteadily on platforms mounted near the low ceiling in each corner of the room.

From time to time a young boy in a soiled white apron too large for him came through the room with a tray picking up tea glasses and small, thick white porcelain cups and saucers. He had earlier brought Suliman and me coffee.

The two young men spoke almost no English. This made their speed and accuracy at the two old L.C. Smith typewriters all the more amazing. They had finished five stencils. We had checked them for mistakes, found a few, and watched as they were expertly corrected.

Our decision to sit by as they finished the stencils had caused a momentary halt in the busy clatter of the room. Everyone watched as chairs were found for us, we took our places and coffee was ordered. Each made his own comment to his neighbor and then returned to his work with only occasional, furtive glances in our direction. The two young men seemed pleased to have us there.

The day before I had called Suliman from the lobby of the Shepheard's when I came down from Malcolm's suite. He'd insisted on helping type the manuscript, telling me he'd take off from work. We'd met in the lobby of Malcolm's hotel at nine-thirty this morning. Suliman was waiting when I arrived. We'd both gone up, had coffee with Malcolm picked up the manuscript and left.

The manuscript was twelve filled yellow pages written in a clear, careful hand. He had apparently rewritten the finished draft from earlier sheets because there were almost no corrections or changes on any of the sheets we had been given. The sheets I had seen on his desk the day before were full of lined-out passages, insertions, writing in the margin, etc.

Suliman had taken six sheets to his place to type. I had taken the other six to my office. I'd told him the location of the mimeographing service. We'd met there just a little before noon.

The balding, harrassed man at the cluttered desk had called over a younger assistant and with him had quickly looked through the manuscript. After consulting the assistant he promised the stencils would be finished by six. He'd put his two best English typists on it, he'd said, and assured us there would be no mistakes. We told him we'd come in to proofread the stencils ourselves before they were mimeographed.

He seemed relieved at this, suggesting it was a burden taken off his already weighted-down shoulders. His desk was piled high with typed stencils. When I told him we were willing to pay a little extra to have the job finished that night, he'd promised that we could have the hundred copies, mimeographed and collated by ten p.m.

We had insisted on wide margins and double spacing, much to the chagrin of the manager's assistant (who, it turned out, was one of the typists working on the stencils). But the manager had been enthusiastic, since the final cost was determined by the number of pages. The five finished stencils represented almost half the manuscript. So, we concluded, the finished memorandum would be ten pages.

It was past eight when the last stencil was completed, almost nine by the time Suliman and I had read through them again and the few additional corrections made. Most of the typists had gone and a relative calm had gradually descended on the office.

However, the manager had insisted that they would be run off and the sheets collated by ten-thirty. I told him we'd be back at that time to pick them up—a deliberate lie. But a lie in the way such lies are used in Egypt to avoid embarrassment. *I* knew they wouldn't be ready. But to have suggested we'd pick them up in the morning after insisting on speed and after he'd promised they would be ready at ten-thirty that night would have implied we did not believe him.

Out of pique at such a suggestion, he wouldn't have done another thing toward completing them after we left, and when I showed up in the morning they wouldn't be ready. This way, by promising them at ten-thirty and our assuring him we'd be by to pick them up, he would be obliged to finish them by early the following morning.

Thus, when we showed up they'd be finished and he could claim, if need be, that they had been ready since the night before and waiting for us. He would be saved embarrassment and we would have avoided a useless trip and the annoyance of not finding the work completed when actually promised.

At the first telephone on the street I called Malcolm's hotel. He was in and assured me that receiving the copies at lunchtime the following day would be excellent. He sounded very pleased, giving me the impression that things were going well for him. He said he'd be waiting for us at one-thirty. Suliman and I parted then; I returned to my office.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Raising Consciousness"

In the conclusion of the chapter "Raising Conciousness" from Revolutionary Suicide, *Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton describes the relationship of God to man and how man, in fact, is the creator of God. In the chapter "Crisis: October 28, 1967," which we begin this week, Huey relates the events that led to his false imprisonment for almost three years.*

PART 60

The phrase "All Power to the People" was meant to turn this around, to convince Black people that their rewards were due in the present, that it was in their power to create a Promised Land *here and now*. The Black Panthers have never intended to turn Black people away from religion.

We want to encourage them to change their consciousness of themselves and to be less accepting of the White man's version of God — the God of the downtrodden, the weak, and the undeserving. We want them to see themselves as the called, the chosen, and the salt of the earth.

Even before we coined the phrase, I had long thought about the idea of God. I could not accept the Biblical version; the Bible is too full of contradictions and irrationality. Either you accept it, and believe, or you do not. I could not believe. I have arrived at my understanding of what is meant by God through other means — through philosophy, logic, and semantics.

My opinion is that the term "God" belongs to the realm of concepts, that it is dependent upon man for its existence. If God does not exist unless man exists, then man must be here to produce God. It logically follows, then, that man created God, and if the creator is greater than that which is created, then we must hold that man is the highest good.

EARLIER PERIODS

I can understand why man feels the need to create God, particularly in earlier periods of history when scientific understanding was limited. The phenomena that man observed around him in the universe sometimes overwhelmed him; he could not explain or account for them. Therefore, he created something in his mind that was "greater" than these phenomena, something that was responsible for the mysteries in nature.

But I think that when man clings to the idea of a God, whom he has created and placed in the heavens, he actually reduces himself and his own potential. The more he attributes to God, the more inferior he becomes, the less responsible for his own destiny. He says to God, "I am weak but thou art mighty," and therefore accepts things as they are, content to leave the running of the world to a supernatural force greater than himself. This attitude embodies a kind of fatalism, which is inimical to growth and change. On the other hand, the greater man becomes, the less his God will be.

None of this means that I am completely hostile to the many beautiful and admirable things about religion. When I speak of certain aspects of society to Black people, the use of religious phraseology flows naturally, and the audience response is genuine. I also read the Bible frequently, not only for its poetry, but also for its wisdom and insight. Still, much of the Bible is madness. I cannot accept, for example, the notion of divine law and responsibility to "God."



HUEY P. NEWTON and the late "Lil" BOBBY HUTTON (rear).

As far as I am concerned, if men are responsible beings, they ought to be responsible to each other. And so, when we say "All Power to the People," we mean to convey a sense of deep respect and love for the people, and the idea that the people deserve complete truth and honesty. The judgment of history is the judgment of the people. That is the motivating and controlling idea of our very existence.

CHAPTER 23

"Crisis: October 28, 1967"

The staggering force of brutish might
That strikes and leaves us stunned and dazed
The long, vain waiting through the night
To hear some voice for justice raised."

James Weldon Johnson
Fifty Years

When I was convicted of assaulting Odel Lee in 1964, the court sentenced me to three years' probation under condition that I first serve six months in the county jail. After release I reported regularly to my probation office, all through the months that we founded the Black Panther Party and began our work in the community. The probation officer was better than average, really a pretty nice guy, intelligent and fair, and we got along well.

Nonetheless, I was relieved when he told me early in October, 1967, that my probation would end on October 17 and parole begin. One of the requirements of parole was that I avoid some parts of Berkeley; in any case, no more reporting; October 27 was going to be a very special day, and my girl friend, LaVerne Williams, and I agreed that we would celebrate the occasion.

On the afternoon of October 27, I was scheduled to speak at a forum on "The Future of the Black Liberation Movement," sponsored by the Black Students Union of San Francisco State College. Requests for speaking engagements had been coming in frequently since the end of the summer. The Sacramento publicity prompted a number of college groups to ask for an explanation of our approach to the problems of Blacks.

They were also interested in hearing why we opposed spontaneous rebellions in Black communities and how we viewed the recent riots in Newark and Detroit. Bobby was in jail, and I was filling as many of these requests as possible, even though I am not very good at talking to large groups; nor do I enjoy it.

Abstract and theoretical ideas interest me most, but they lack the rhetorical fire to hold audiences. I went to San Francisco State, anyway, because I was eager to increase our contacts with Black college students. Sharing the platform with me that afternoon was Dr. Harry Edwards, the sociology professor from San Jose State College, who was organizing the Olympic boycott by Black athletes.

TO BE CONTINUED

"HISTORY WILL ABSOLVE ME"

By Fidel Castro

On the night of July 26, 1953, 165 Cuban men and two women, under the command of a brilliant young lawyer named Fidel Castro, launched an armed revolt against the hated Batista dictatorship, attacking the Moncada Army Barracks in Santiago de Cuba. A fierce battle ensued, but the young combatants were eventually overpowered and taken prisoner. Seventy of those captured were tortured to death before morning.

Three months later, on October 13, Fidel Castro addressed an Emergency Tribunai convened in a provincial hospital. Tried separately from the others, Castro's trial was the last of the Moncada survivors — all had received stiff sentences at the wretched Isle of Pines Prison.

For five hours, Fidel Castro addressed the court. For five hours, without the benefit of notes, in a room bare save for his accusers, a handful of reporters and the military police who lined the walls, Fidel Castro upheld the dignity of the Cuban people, defending the spirit of revolt and revolution that burns within the hearts of all oppressed humanity. Following, in commemoration of the twenty-third anniversary of the Moncada attack, THE BLACK PANTHER presents a brief excerpt of Fidel Castro's eloquent address.

"Honorable Magistrates:

"Never has a lawyer had to practice his profession under more difficult conditions; never against an accused have more overwhelming irregularities been committed. Here, counsel and accused are one and the same. As attorney for the defense I have been denied even a look at the indictment. As the accused, I have been, for the past seventy-six days, shut away, in solitary confinement — held incommunicado in violation of every legal and human consideration.

"He who is speaking abhors — with all his being — anything that might be vain or childish. Neither by his temperament nor by his present frame of mind is he inclined towards oratorical poses — or towards any kind of sensationalism. I am compelled to plead my own defense before this court. There are two reasons: first, because I have been deprived almost entirely of legal aid; second, because only he who has been outraged as deeply as I, and who has seen his country so forsaken, its justice so reviled, can speak on an occasion like this with words that are made of the blood of his own heart and the very marrow of truth. . .

TAKEN FOR GRANTED

"It is taken for granted that a lawyer should converse privately with his client. This right is respected all over the world — except here, where a Cuban prisoner of war is in the hands of an implacable tyranny that abides by no code, legal or humane. Neither Dr. Pagliery nor I were willing to tolerate such spying upon our strategy of defense for the oral trial. Did they, perhaps, want to know in advance how we would reduce to dust the elaborate falsehoods they had woven around the events of Cuartel Moncada and how we were going to expose the terrible truths they would go to such very great lengths to conceal? It was then that I decided to make use of my professional status as lawyer. I resolved to assume my own defense. . .

"You have publicly called this case the most significant in the history of the Republic. If you sincerely believed so, you should not have allowed the trial to be degraded, time after time, by the flouting of your authority.

"The first court session was held on the 21st of September. Scandalously invading the courtroom were a hundred soldiers armed with machine guns and bayonets. They surrounded the more than a hundred persons seated in the prisoner's dock. The majority of these accused had in no way been involved in our acts. They had been under preventive arrest for many days, after suffering all kinds of outrage and abuse in the chambers of the repressive organizations.

"The rest of the gallant and determined accused were eager and proud to confirm the roles that were theirs in the battle for freedom: to offer an example of unusual self-sacrifice, and to deliver from the jaws of jail the ones whom (the regime) with deliberate bad faith, had included in the trial. Men who had fought each other came face to face once more. Once again, with the cause of justice on our side, we would wage the mighty battle of truth against infamy. Surely, the regime was not prepared for the moral catastrophe in store for it.

"How could the regime maintain its false accusations? How could it keep secret all that had really transpired, while so many young men were willing to run *any* risk — jail, torture, death, if need be — to denounce (the Army's acts) before the court?

"In the first session, I was a witness. For two hours I was questioned by the court's prosecutor as well as by twenty defense attorneys. I was able to prove with exact facts and figures the sums of money that had been invested, the way in which this money was collected, and the arms that we had managed to assemble. I had nothing to hide since all this was achieved by a self-abnegation unsurpassed in the struggles of our Republic.

HUMANE TREATMENT

"I spoke of the aims which inspired us in our struggle and of the humane and generous treatment that we had at all times accorded to our adversaries. If I accomplished my purpose of demonstrating the noninvolvement, direct or indirect, of those men who were falsely implicated in this trial, I owe it to the complete support and backing of my heroic comrades. For, as I said, mere concern over consequences would not make them regret or repent being rebels and patriots. I was never allowed to talk with them in prison; yet we were in full accord as to how to proceed.

"When men bear the same ideals in their hearts, nothing can keep them incommunicado: neither walls of prisons nor sod of cemeteries. For a single memory, a single spirit, a single idea, a single conscience, a single dignity, will sustain them all.

"But there is one argument that aids us more than all the others. We are Cubans and to be Cuban implies a duty. Not to fulfill that duty is a crime, is treason.

"We are proud of the history of our country. We learned history in school and we have grown up hearing of liberty, justice and human rights.

"We were taught to venerate the glorious example of our heroes and our martyrs. Cespedes, Agramonte, Maceo, Gomez y Marti were the first names engraved in our minds. We were taught that the titan Maceo had said



FIDEL CASTRO (right) and other Cuban patriots being jailed after their valiant attack on the Moncada Barracks on July 26, 1953. In a famous speech made by Castro at his trial he said, "When men bear the same ideals in their hearts, nothing can keep them incommunicado; neither walls of prisons nor sod of cemeteries."

that liberty is not begged but is won with the blade of a machete.

"We were taught that for the guidance of Cuba's free citizens the *Apostol* (Marti) wrote in his *Book of Gold*: 'The man who conforms by obeying unjust laws and permits anybody to trample the country in which he was born, the man who so mistreats his country, is not an honorable man.

" 'In the world there must be a certain degree of decorum just as there must be a certain amount of light. When there are many men without decorum, there are always others who bear in themselves the dignity of many men. These are the men who rebel with great force against those who steal the people's freedom — that is to say, against those who steal human dignity itself.'

"We were taught that the 10th of October (1869, beginning of the struggle against Spain) and the 24th of February (1895, beginning the final push against Spanish imperialism) are glorious anniversaries of national rejoicing because they mark days in which Cubans rebelled against the yoke of infamous tyrannies.

CHERISH AND DEFEND

"We were taught to cherish and defend the beloved flag of the single star. We sang every afternoon a hymn whose verses say that to live in chains is to live in opprobrium. . .that to die for the country is to live.

"All this we learned and will never forget, even though today in our land there is murder and prison for the men who practice the ideas taught to them since the cradle. We were born in a free country which was our heritage from our forefathers. The island would sink into the sea before we would consent to be slaves of *anybody*.

"It seemed that the veneration for the Apostol was going to die in his Centenary. It seemed that his memory would be extinguished forever. So great was the affront! But his dream lives. It has not died. His people are rebellious. His people are worthy. His people are faithful to his memory. There are Cubans who have fallen defending his doctrines. There are boys who in magnificent selflessness came to die beside his tomb, giving their blood and their lives so that (the dream of Marti) could continue to live in the heart of his country. Cuba, what would have become of you if you had forsaken your Apostol?

"I come to the close of my defense plea but I will not end it as lawyers usually do — asking that the accused be freed. I cannot ask freedom for myself while my comrades are suffering in the ignominous prison of *Isla de Pinos*. Send me there to join them and to share their fate. It is understandable that honest men should be dead or in prison in (this) Republic where the president is a criminal and a thief.

"To the Honorable Magistrates, my sincere gratitude for having allowed me to express myself freely without petty interruptions. I hold no bitterness toward you. I recognize that in certain aspects you have been humane and I know that the Presiding Officer of this court, a man of unimpeachable private life, cannot disguise his repugnance at the current state of affairs that oblige him to dictate unjust decisions.

"Still, there remains for this hearing a more serious problem, the issues arising from the murder of seventy men — that is to say, the greatest massacre we have ever known. The guilty continue at liberty with a weapon in hand — a weapon which continually threatens the citizens. If all the weight of the law does not fall upon (the guilty) because of cowardice, or because of domination of the courts — and if then, all the magistrates and judges do not resign, I pity you. And I regret the unprecedented shame that will fall over the judicial system.

"I know that imprisonment will be as hard for me as it has ever been for anyone — filled with cowardly threats and wicked torture. But I do not fear prison, just as I do not fear the fury of the miserable tyrant who snuffed life out of 70 brothers of mine.

"Sentence me. I don't mind. *History will absolve me.*"□



FIDEL CASTRO



"These are the men who rebel with great force against those who steal the people's freedom — that is to say, against those who steal human dignity itself."

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowlede of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

U.N. Report Condemns Sharpeville Massacre

The following is Part 3 of a special report on the infamous Sharpeville massacre (March 21, 1960) in South Africa written by David Sibeko and published at the request of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid. Mr. Sibeko is director of Foreign Affairs for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) and is its representative at the U.N.

PART 3

The go-ahead for launching the Positive Action Campaign was given at the first and only national conference of the PAC, held on December 19-20, 1959, in Johannesburg.

The angry apathy which hung over the oppressed African masses was gradually giving way to an atmosphere of expectancy. PAC slogans like "Izwe lethu" ("Our Land"), "I Africa" were catching on like epidemic in the townships and villages, others like "Africa for Africans!" were sprouting on walls along with the name of Sobukwe which was rapidly becoming a household word. *Drum*, the leading magazine for Blacks, asked in a headline article: "Africanists Fireworks or False Alarm?" That issue was banned by the regime and the police seized copies already in circulation.

At last the order came out! Against the background of intensified door-to-door campaigning by PAC activists, Mangaliso Sobukwe announced at a press conference in Johannesburg on March 18 that the Pan Africanist Congress would launch the first phase of its unfolding program for the liberation of South Africa on Monday, March 21, 1960.

The target of this campaign would be the pass laws, the lynch-pin of the system of apartheid in South Africa. The door-to-door campaigning was reinforced with a call on all pass carrying African men to leave their passes at home, march to police stations nearest to them and demand to be arrested for refusing to carry a pass, euphemistically called the "reference book" since 1953 when the "Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Native Documents Act" was passed.

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Intercommunal News

HUNDREDS OF POLICE POURED INTO SOWETO

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - The White apartheid South African government last week stepped up its repression in the Black "township" of Soweto and some 20 surrounding Black communities by pouring in hundreds of units of police. The move was prompted by the continuing widespread Black discontent in the sprawling city of over one and a half million.

"Minister of Justice" James Kruger — who has vowed that all necessary force will be used to prevent further Black revolts — banned all Whites from Soweto. The security police escalated a series of arrests initiated after the original uprising on June 16 when over 10,000 Black Azanian (South African) schoolchildren protested the use of the hated Afrikaans language as a teaching medium.

Among those black activists taken into "preventive dentention" were Jairus Kgoking, a Sowetan and prominent member of the militant South African Students Organization (SASO), and members of the South African Students Movement (SASM) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). Each of these groups is openly critical of the apartheid regime.





At top, people of Alexandra "township" under police attack. Black "townships" are places of wretched poverty (bottom).

Meanwhile, government spokespersons announced the death of a second White official involved in a shooting incident in a government office outside Johannesburg. According to police, X.P. van der Merwe was one of two White men shot when a Black man entered the office armed with a revolver. Police claim the incident had no relation to the Soweto revolt.

In a related development, on Sunday, July 18, students at the all-Black University of Fort Hare in Johannesburg threw a gasoline bomb into one of the main campus buildings and damaged others with rocks before being subdued by police using tear gas. Initial reports said there were no casualties in the incident.

Soweto, the second largest city in South Africa, was built as a "dormitory" town for the Black, domestic, industrial and commercial workers employed in the all-White city of Johannesburg 18 miles away. Over half of Soweto's residents are under the age of 35.

Sowetans live under shockingly inhumane conditions, crowded together into small, identical, box-like, brick-built houses. Eighty-six per cent of the homes have no electricity; 93 per cent no shower or bath; and 97 per cent

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SALIM A. SALIM, CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON DECOLONIZATION

TANZANIAN U.N. REPRESENTATIVE INTERVIEWED

Salim A. Salim is the Republic of Tanzania's permanent representative to the United Nations. As chairman of the U.N. Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization, Salim recently toured Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania, the frontline Black independent states in the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. Following, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints Part 4 of an interview conducted with Salim by Africa *magazine.*

PART 4

QUESTION: Are you satisfied, from your own observation and assessment in the country, that the international community is providing enough assistance to Mozambique in the wake of President Machel's decision to close the borders with Rhodesia? If not, what further recommendations would you make?

SALIM: Our stay in Maputo gave us an on-the-spot insight relating to the magnitude of the problems facing Mozambique in the wake of the commendable decision of the government of Mozambique under President Samora Machel's leadership to close the borders with Rhodesia. Clearly the need of Mozambique for immediate external assistance is most acute.

As you are aware, at its meeting on March 17, 1976, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution in which an appeal was made to all states to provide immediate financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique. The resolution also requested the United Nations and other organizations and programs to assist Mozambique in the present economic situation.

In response to the above resolution, the secretary-general of the United Nations appointed a mission to go to Mozambique to make an on-the-spot assessment of the technical and material assistance requirements of Mozambique as a result of her application of sanctions against Rhodesia.

The mission has completed its work and submitted its report to the Economic and Social Council. The mission has estimated that the direct cost to Mozambique of applying sanctions would amount to $210 million for the next 12 months and over $175 million for the subsequent year. On top of the direct costs, the mission has also identified some indirect costs which would affect the long-term development program of Mozambique.

The findings and conclusions of the mission have now been endorsed by the Economic and Social Council. The extent to which the international community can provide assistance to Mozambique depends, firstly, on the capabilities of the various bodies of the United Nations to render such assistance, and the willingness of member states, particularly the developed countries, to provide assistance both bilaterally and multilaterally.

So far the response on the willingness to provide assistance to Mozambique has been favorable. The UNDP and the United Nations Special Fund are expected to play a major role on the part of the United Nations. It is also expected member states will provide assistance to Mozambique both bilaterally and through the United Nations machinery.

It is perhaps too early to determine what amount of assistance will be provided to Mozambique, but there is every reason to believe that a considerable amount of assistance would be forthcoming. Several countries have already made firm pledges to assist while some have in fact begun to contribute. On the whole, prospects would appear to be bright.

TO BE CONTINUED



Zimbabwe guerrilla takes aim at the enemy; (inset) SALIM A. SALIM, Tanzanian U.N. representative.

"Unholy Alliance" Strengthened

(Paris, France) - South Africa and Israel are developing a close alliance and will hold military staff talks in the near future, the *San Francisco Examiner* reported here last week.

As a result of South African "Prime Minister" John Vorster's May visit to Israel, the Zionist state will supply weapons to the White apartheid regime's army, which is presently changing its capability from dealing almost exclusively with internal security to the expected full scale attacks across South African borders by Black liberation forces from all over Africa.

Sources report that the strengthening of the alliance between the two governments reflects their mutual belief that military and political developments in the Middle East may in the future have some influence on what happens in southern Africa and vice versa. The agreement came before Israel's commando attack on the Entebbe airport in Uganda in which Israeli hostages were rescued from pro-Palestinian hijackers, but one source said the incident showed that some Black African nations actively support the Palestinian liberation struggle.

"When (President) Idi Amin of Uganda gave shelter to the terrorists, it dramatized. . .that South Africa's enemies are also Israel's enemies," the source said.

AFRICA IN FOCUS

O.A.U.

The 13th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted a series of resolutions condemning the Soweto massacre in South Africa (Azania) and calling for economic sanctions against the White apartheid South African government. The OAU summit meeting, which was held in Port Louis, Mauritius, also reaffirmed its opposition to the independence of South African Bantustans (homelands) and declared June 16 "Day of the Soweto Martyrs."

Tanzania/Zambia

The government of the People's Republic of China last week formally handed over the 1,100-mile long Tan/Zam Railway to the government of the two countries. The ceremony took place in Kapiri Mposhi, the railway's terminal point in Zambia, 125 miles north of Lusaka, the Zambian capital. Attending the ceremony were Deputy Prime Minister Sun Chien of People's China, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Botswana President Sir Seretse Khama, Chinese Minister for Foreign and Economic Relations, Fang Yi, and Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Mozambique

President Samora Moises Machel has ordered that all names on Mozambican schools, public buildings, streets and squares be changed by July 24. The FRELIMO government is intensifying its current drive to remove all remnants of 500 years of colonialism which includes changing the Portuguese names of public buildings.

Benin

The permanent representative of Benin to the United Nations recently condemned Indonesia's illegal annexation of the neighboring Democratic Republic of East Timor, *Hsinhua* news agency reports. On May 31 the Indonesian government informed the U.N. Security Council that a "popular assembly" of East Timor had agreed to merge with Indonesia. The U.N. previously has condemned Indonesian imperialism in East Timor.

M.P.L.A. DEVELOPS AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

PEOPLE'S ANGOLA REVOLUTIONIZES LAND SYSTEM

(Luanda, People's Republic of Angola) - The MPLA government, seeking to overhaul the corrupt agricultural and land system inherited by over 500 years of Portuguese colonialism, is conducting an intensive rural development program whose primary objective is the establishment of agricultural cooperatives.

The government considers agricultural cooperatives to be the principal institution for improving production and distribution in the rural areas and for bringing people's democracy to the rural peasantry who make up the vast majority of Angola's population. The emphasis on agricultural development is stated in the constitution of the new Republic which defines the economy as having "agriculture as the base and industry as the decisive factor in its development."

In February, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Coordination announced a series of guidelines for Angola's rural development. A special Commission for Aid and Dynamization of Cooperatives (CADCO) has been assigned the task of facilitating and supporting the development of cooperatives. CADCO's function is to aid the people in the formation of cooperatives.

Angolan Secretary of State for Agriculture Carlos Fernandes explained the government's agricultural policies in a lengthy interview with the Luanda evening newspaper *Diario de Luanda* and reported in the *Guardian*. Secretary Fernandes noted that nationalization of Angolan land was imperative because of the massive departure following independence last November 11 of the Portuguese settlers who owned most of the land and to guard against "any sort of parasitism among a rural petty bourgeoisie or among tenant farmers who may appear."



Angolans celebrate independence on November 11, 1975.

The backwardness and extreme poverty of the country's rural areas is the result of Portuguese exploitation. "Small Angolan landowners were pushed off their original farms onto unproductive land," Fernandes said. "They were forced to sell their labor — to become a rural proletariat. They became the origin of migratory labor. . .dispossessed peasants from the south who went to work on the coffee and cotton plantations in the north..."

Under Portuguese rule, Angolan workers — called *contrados* — were one step removed from slavery. When slavery was abolished in the country at the end of the last century, plantation slave labor was replaced by "contract labor." The "contract" was between the local authorities who rounded workers up and the plantation owners who paid a per head fee to the corrupt local authorities. The *contrado* was paid a tiny daily wage with a deduction made for daily meals — usually just enough to keep a worker alive.

Secretary Fernandes outlined three types of farming that will eradicate the plantation slave labor system — state enterprises, various types of cooperatives and private farms. Small family farms and small capitalist farms will be allowed to exist "as long as these are within the framework of our overall economic policy," the agricultural secretary said.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Angola Revitalizes Coffee Production

(Luanda, People's Republic of Angola) - Angola's government is in the midst of its most dramatic and ambitious effort to restore the country's damaged economy — "Operation Coffee," *Reuters* news agency reports here.

Top officials from President Agostinho Neto down, helped by large numbers of Cuban advisors are involved in trying to produce the best possible harvest of coffee.



Militant African workers.

As a sign of the urgency of the problem, Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento revealed recently that unemployed Angolans here and elsewhere are being sent to the plantations to pick coffee.

Volunteers also are traveling to the plantations to take part in what the semiofficial newspapers call "The First Harvest of Our Coffee."

After Brazil, Angola is the world's biggest coffee producer, and coffee has always been the country's biggest earner of foreign exchange. In the aftermath of CIA attempts earlier this year to overthrow the MPLA, foreign exchange is believed to be in short supply, and coffee has assumed tremendous importance for the new nation.

One senior official said recently that Angola hoped the harvest would not fall more than 20 per cent short of the target of 200,000 tons. But he added that if the harvest was not sufficiently well-organized, or transportation was inadequate, the harvest could be less. Sources said the govern-

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Eritrean Benefit Held At U.C.

(Berkeley, Calif.) - "Eritrean Night" was the theme of an educational and cultural benefit program sponsored by the Bay Area Chapter of Eritreans For Liberation in North America (EFLNA) held here in Pauley Ballroom of the Student Union, University of California, last Saturday night.

Nearly 200 people turned out for the event which featured a delicious Eritrean dinner, a speech on the current military and political situation in Eritrea delivered by ARAIA TSEGGA (left), who is a spokesperson for the Bay Area EFLNA, a panel discussion, a slide show, solidarity speeches from progressive organizations, entertainment from La Pena Cultural Center and Restaurant and some excellent Eritrean singing and dancing performed by EFLNA members (above).

BPINS photos

Hundreds Of Police Poured Into Soweto

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

no hot water. There is only one movie theater in the entire city.

According to a recent article in *The Observer* of London, 54 per cent of all Sowetans are unemployed. The average monthly wage per worker is 10 pounds ($24.00) compared with 69 pounds ($165) per month for White workers. Sowetan families barely survive given the estimated monthly budget for a family of five of 42 pounds ($100.80).

For the 220,000 Sowetans who do work, they must travel up to four hours a day to and from the city in overcrowded trains and buses. Many people have to leave as early as 5:00 and 6:00 a.m. in order to get to work on time and are forced to return home long after dark.

Children are left on their own while their parents are away at work. Most children go to school. but due to overcrowding, they spend only half a day in class to allow for a double daily intake.

It has only been recently that Sowetans were allowed to buy their own homes; certain categories are now permitted to do so if they first take out citizenship in one of the "homelands." A recent survey, however revealed that 75 per cent of all Sowetans refuse to take out such citizenship. The majority of them were born and reared in the "township" and have no contact with their ancestral tribal lands.

The repressive policies of 25 years of apartheid rule made last month's Soweto rebellion inevitable. Commenting on the June 16 uprising, Dr. Erich Leistner, "deputy director" of the Africa Institute, said, ". . . Wednesday's (June 16's) tragic events will probably go down in history as the beginning of an era where Whites. . .can no longer alone decide the lot of Blacks. . ."□



Black Azanians (South Africans) live in poverty.

Angola Revolutionizes Land System

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

The government faces a major problem with the lack of cadres to carry out its new economic policies. Existing cadres have not shaken the colonial mentality, Fernandes explained, and do not want to train peasants in a "revolutionary spirit." A second problem is the overwhelming (85 per cent) illiteracy of the Angolan people. The high illiteracy rate makes it necessary for the formation of technical agricultural cadres to go hand-in-hand with the anti-illiteracy campaign.

A third problem is the need to *diversify agricultural production* so that the maximum number of export crops can be retained. These crops provide Angola with the foreign exchange used for the purchase of industrial equipment. Crop diversification must be accompanied with a new emphasis on producing food crops to provide for higher nutrition standards for the population.

Elaborating on the rural and agricultural development program in Angola, Secretary Fernandes noted:

". . .If agriculture is to be the material base for the life of the peasants and for the Angolan people as a whole, through the economic aspect, we can also develop the social aspect in every field — public health, education, social security. . .so that the economic development of the countryside becomes the basis for the development of man himself in his rural milieu. . ."□

WORLD SCOPE

China

Chu Teh, father of the Chinese Red Army and close comrade-in-arms of Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung, died in Peking recently, at the age of 90. China declared six days of mourning and ordered flags flown at half-staff for the highly respected military leader who led the main column during the famous Long March in 1934.

Canada

The Canadian legislature approved legislation abolishing the death penalty for all civilian crimes, leaving only "traitorous military offenses" subject to capital punishment. The new law will replace one that provides the death penalty for those convicted of murdering working policemen and prison guards.

Occupied Palestine

Arab residents of the West Bank — a part of Jordan before Israel annexed it in the 1967 war — recently demonstrated here against repressive new tax laws imposed by Israel on Arab merchants. A local tax office and an office of the Israeli National Bank were sacked. One of the demonstrators, 18-year-old Jamal Shamire, became the 11th Palestinian protesting Israeli rule to be shot down by Israeli security forces in the occupied area this year.

Sahara

The Executive Committee of the POLISARIO Front recently reported the death in combat of its general secretary, Mustapha El Ovali. A 40-day period of mourning was declared. The POLISARIO Front's official communique urged all Saharan fighters to follow the heoric example of El Ouali who was one of the first to begin the struggle against Spanish colonialism, in El Khanka, on May 20, 1973.

ENTERTAINMENT

Apolitical Intellectuals

One day
the apolitical
intellectuals
of my country
will be interrogated
by the simplest
of our people.

They will be asked
what they did
when their nation died out
slowly,
like a sweet fire,
small and alone.

No one will ask them
about their dress,
their long siestas
after lunch,
no one will want to know
about their sterile combats
with "the idea
of the nothing"
no one will care about
their higher financial learning.
They won't be questioned
on Greek mythology,
or regarding their self-disgust
when someone within them
begins to die
the coward's death.
They'll be asked nothing
about their absurd
justifications,
born in the shadow
of the total lie.

On that day
the simple men will come.
Those who had no place
in the books and poems
of the apolitical intellectuals,
but daily delivered
their bread and milk,
their tortillas and eggs,
those who mended their clothes,
those who drove their cars,
who cared for their dogs and
gardens
and worked for them,
and they'll ask:
"What did you do when the poor
suffered, when tenderness
and life
burned out in them?"

Apolitical intellectuals
of my sweet country,
you will not be able to answer.

A vulture of silence
will eat your gut.
Your own misery
will pick at your soul.
And you will be mute
in your shame.

— Otto Rene Castillo
Guatemalan revolutionary burned to death in 1967.



BILLY DEE WILLIAMS (far left), JAMES EARL JONES (rear, without cap), and RICHARD PRYOR (second from right) star in The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings.

"BINGO LONG": HIGH-SPIRITED, WITH A LOT OF WARMTH

Get the family together, jump into your car (or take the bus if necessary) and beat it on down to your local theater. Buy some popcorn as you go in, maybe some candy too, and then kick back, relax, and enjoy a good ol' movie, the best of its kind you'll probably see in a good long while — *The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings.*

High-spirited, humorous and occasionally moving, *Bingo Long* is an extremely entertaining, totally enjoyable tale of a barnstorming group of Black baseball players struggling to survive during the Depression, to survive with dignity.

An old newsreel, which as a prelude to the movie, sets the scene: the time is 1939 and times are hard. Hitler is moving into Czechoslovakia, White folks are chewing razor blades and putting out lit cigarettes on their tongues . . .and over in the Negro League, the great Satchel Page and Josh Gibson are packing 'em in at Yankee Stadium for an All-Star game.

The stage thus set, enter Bingo Long (played skillfully by Billy Dee Williams), "the" star pitcher in the Negro League at the time. Like the other players in the League, Bingo toils each day for a Black owner who is little more than a new slave master.

One day, after a game in which "Rainbow," the team's chatterbox infielder, is struck in the head by a pitched ball (a blow which leaves him without a voice) and the team owner/villain takes his bus fare back South from the players' salaries, Bingo is infuriated.

That evening, Bingo encounters Leon Carter, "the" homerun slugger in the League (acted admirably and with true feeling by James Earl Jones). Carter, a sort of elder statesman and obviously worldly-wise, gives Bingo a quickie lesson in politics — you end exploitation when you "seize the means of production" — and soon thereafter the Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings are born.

The team is drawn up from the top stars of the other teams in the Negro League, with the profits shared collectively. One outstanding personality on the team is Charlie Snow (played with a passion by Richard Pryor), who with his slicked-back hair and pencil-thin mustache, aspires to make it in the "big leagues" as a Cuban; and later, sporting "Mohawk" haircut, as an Indian.

At first, it's all fun and games for the barnstorming crew, who

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"Trying To Help Mama Eat A Little Better"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

selling drugs and all. They were doing it, but you just didn't see it out in the open. You didn't see somebody 15 or 16 with a car, and it just seemed like life was just a little bit better then.

Now it seems as though everybody has problems with their children and its more dope in the street and you feel that you want to go out there and sell some, too: that's the fastest money out there. I've been looking at that. I've seen my friends out there wearing their little mink coats, and their cars, and I say, "Boy, if I'd've stuck a little longer with them, I probably wouldn't be in the problems I'm having now." I know it's a little dangerous, selling drugs and all that in the street, but a lot of them don't care and I see that they're getting over like it's all right.

There's really no jobs out here for nobody. You've got to have this experience or that experience or you're skipping from one job to another or you just landed in programs you weren't qualified for. It was just so many hang-ups trying to get a job, so a lot of people just turned to selling drugs in the street.

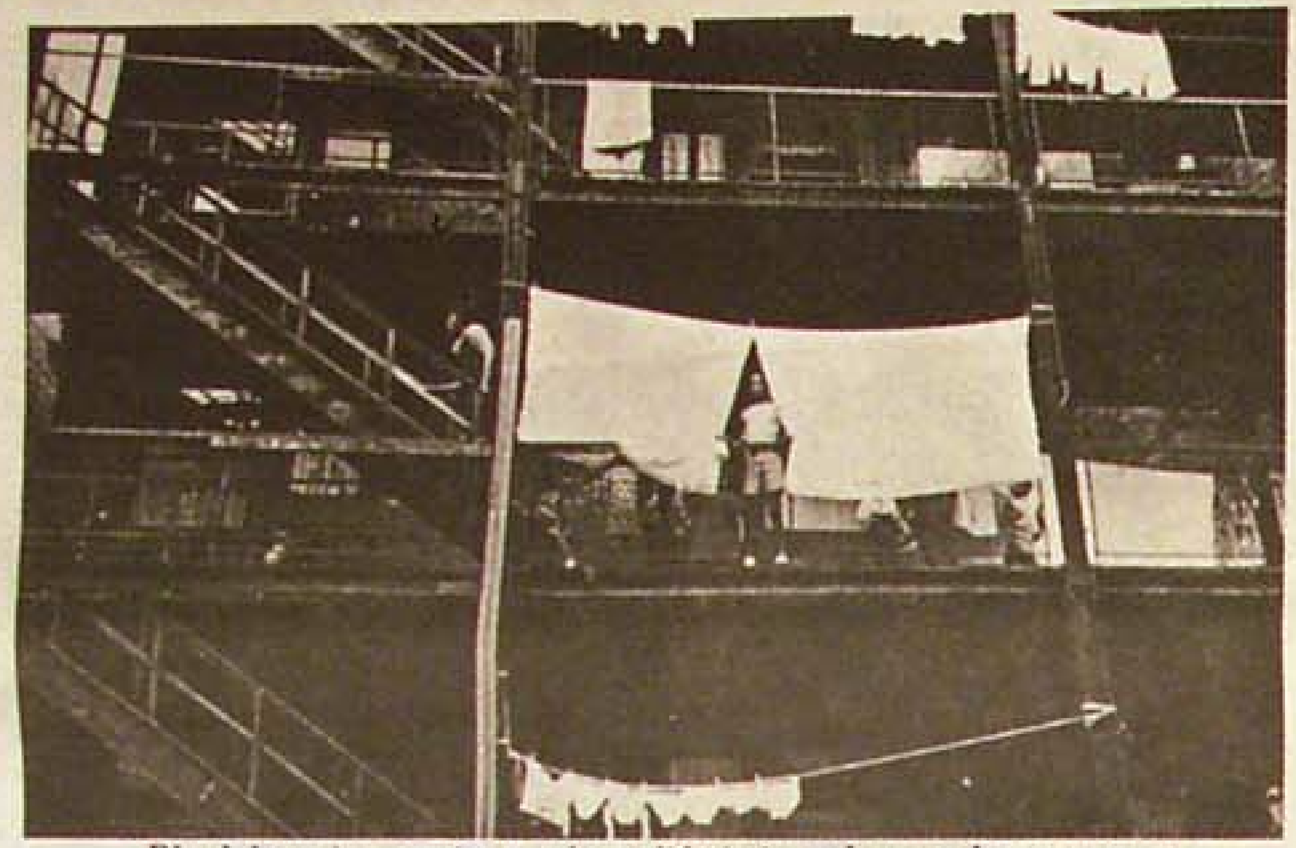
But I am scared. When I see a cop, I get so paralyzed I say, "No, this nigger'll come and lock me up." I'll be getting ready to tell him, "No, this ain't my dope, this belongs to him," and you don't do that out there. So, I'm just scared of that, I'm scared to go to jail. If I had it up here in my head that I'm not scared to go to jail, I'd be out there tomorrow. But, a lot of people don't think like me. They don't care if they go to jail or they think they're going to get right back out.

DO SOME TIME

So far, where I've seen, they get right back out, but a lot of people tell me that with this new drug law they've got that you might do some time.

They don't care. You go to jail today, so what; (the pushers) will get somebody else in your place. They don't care either. If you're their woman, so what; you were just another bitch off the street and they go get another woman. You might have thought: Oh, they were so much in love with me.

When you get in jail you find out, you'll just be there by your lonesome because nobody's going to come there and try to get you out. Unless, they're that much up on the level where they got the money, they got the lawyers to get you out, but most



Black housing project, where life is just day-to-day survival.

people that I know that I see in the street, they're dealing on the lower level in the drugs. So, they're not going to take their money to get nobody out of jail. So you just got to hustle your way in jail now. I can't see myself doing that.

DON'T BELIEVE

I don't vote for the simple reason that I don't believe most of the things the candidates are telling people, and my vote might count but then yet I think: I'm just one person, you know. That's the attitude of a lot of people and I guess that's why the can't really change or get the President who they want.

So, I don't know. . .I wish these politicians would do something, they need to do something. What are they going to do, run for (President) and help 49 states and leave one just hanging? You know, New York's just hanging in the breeze.

You can't eat cereal every day. These young kids who are growing up, if they cut the welfare out and their mother can't really provide for them like she should, you know, they might see all this as they're growing up and as they get older the welfare can't help them at all or offer them anything. They might think that everybody's against them and all this sort of mess and they might go in the street and start doing their little number in the street trying to make money, or trying to help Momma eat a little better.□

Voter Registration Drive Begins

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

says Mr. William Velasquez, director of the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project. "Our approach calls for local coalitions of nonpartisan local organizations which are initiated from within each minority community."

The intensive voter mobilization efforts are designed to achieve maximum gains under the protective coverage of the 1975 Voting Rights Act, which included Spanish-speaking minorities in Texas for the first time since the Voting Rights Act was first passed in 1965.

"Our statistics show that the counties to which we are extending our program resources have high concentrations of untapped minority potential," stated Stan Alexander, VEP research director and field coordinator for the State of Texas. "We are hopeful that a viable coalition of Blacks and Mexican Americans in this area will be an inspiration for similar coalitions throughout the Southwest."

The Voter Education Project has been the primary organization in the South promoting nonpartisan minority programs of voter registration, citizenship education, leadership development, and technical assistance to elected officials since 1962. Based in Atlanta, Georgia, the VEP conducts programs in the 11 southern states from Virginia to Texas.

The Southwest Voter Registration Education Project has conducted programs in six states — California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Texas and since its inception in 1974. Based in San Antonio, the SVREP is currently engaged in 30 local projects in the six-state area, with 20 additional field projects to be sponsored in 1976.

SVREP is the only tax-exempt organization in the Southwest which focuses on the nonpartisan registration and education of Spanish-speaking and Native American voters. □

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Peru

The leftist government of President Francisco Morales Bermudez in Peru has put down an attempted revolt by a right-wing army general, report *The New York Times*. Informed sources said that the rebels gave up after a few hours and that few were killed or wounded.

Venezuela

The Venezuelan National Movement in Defense of Panama expressed support for the Panamanian people and government and people in their just struggle for recovering sovereignty over the Canal Zone, reports *Hsinhua* news agency. Reinaldo Cervini, president of the Association for Venezuela, said at the meeting that, Panama's cause "brings shame on the whole of Latin America."

Puerto Rico

Although Dow Chemical has been denied permission to build a $50 million plastics plant in Solano County, California, the giant U.S. multinational was avidly welcomed in Puerto Rico by promoter Teodoro Moscaso. Moscaso promised there would be no red tape or controversy, citing such advantages as tax exemption, subsidies and federal wage assistance. Since 1950, Moscaso shamelessly reports, "We have created the world's twentieth largest industrial society. We have attracted 1,900 U.S. industrial plants and 70 foreign ones representing an investment of $4.5 billion."

Argentina

The highest Roman Catholic authorities in Argentina have expressed grave concern to the country's military junta over the lack of an investigation of the recent killing of three priests and two seminary students in a parish residence. The murders were attributed to right wing policemen carrying out reprisals against Argentine militants after a bomb explosion killed 20 people in the cafeteria of the police headquarters.

SPORTS

MARTIAL ARTS

Weapons

The study of Chinese weapons has always held special significance — combative, artistic and traditional — for many students of Chinese boxing styles. Each weapon, unique in itself, helps enhance a different side of the student's martial/combative character, furthering the individual's understandings and abilities as a whole as well as building stamina, grace and fluidity.

For some systems, few weapons are taught. Pa-kua, for instance, has but a few primary weapons (spear, circular sword, sword and knife).

Basically, weapons are divided into five categories: long, soft, short, double, and weapons for throwing. There is also a category for "tools" such as benches, chairs, smoking pipes, etc.

As a rule, long weapons were used in ancient China by mounted soldiers. The foot soldiers used short weapons. The first military weapon was the spear, and it is known as the king of long weapons. But unlike other cultures, the users and practitioners of the spear in China never threw their spears. After all, why throw your weapon away? Someone might pick it up and throw it back at you.

The spear could be the oldest weapon in anyone's history, but there is one still older, the staff. The staff is known as the father of long weapons. This weapon is called single headed when only one end is used. Staff movements are called double headed when both ends are used and the weapon is held in the center instead of at one end.

In contemporary times, the practical use of the abovementioned weapons or "tools" must be viewed in light of the circumstances that face the individual.

What weapons training will enable the individual to do under today's stress conditions during unprovoked attacks, is to utilize other objects that might be accessible. A water hose may replace the 9-section chain; a broom-handle may replace the staff; or rolled newspaper the short sword.

AFRICAN COUNTRIES BOYCOTT OLYMPICS



Members of the Nigerian Olympics team (above). Nigeria and 23 other Black countries have decided to boycott the Olympic Summer Games as part of an ongoing struggle against South Africa's apartheid.

(Montreal, Canada) - At least 25 African and Third World nations have withdrawn from the Summer Olympics here in a last-minute dramatic protest against the participation of New Zealand in this prestigious, international sporting event.

Last week, Tanzania spearheaded the African withdrawal from the Games, demanding that New Zealand be banned from the Olympics. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.) Tanzania and other nations on the African continent were furious over the recent South African tour of a New Zealand rugby team which took place in the aftermath of the recent massacres of Black Azanians (South Africans) during the Soweto rebellion.

When the Games opened this past Saturday, there was great speculation on whether other African nations would follow the example of Tanzania. The guessing quickly ended when a number of nations did not participate in the opening ceremonies. As of yet, there is still no definite way to determine the size of the pullout because many delegations are still awaiting the official word from their governments on whether to stay or leave.

The boycotting countries were (by the latest information): Tanzania, Somalia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Gambia, Nigeria, Algeria, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Republic of the Congo, Zambia, Egypt, Central African Republic, Gabon, Ghana, Libya, Niger, Sudan, Togo, Upper Volta, Iraq, Cameroon, and Guyana.

The latest country to officially withdraw over the question of New Zealand was the South American nation of Guyana, the first country in the Western Hemisphere to do so.

The intransigence of the International Olympics Committee (IOC) will deny the Olympics the participation of such potential gold medal winners as distance runner Filbert Bayi of Tanzania, sprinter James Gilkes of Guyana and John Akii Bua of Uganda, the world record holder for the 400 meter hurdle.

EXPEL

The IOC has refused to expel New Zealand from the Games, claiming that rugby is not an Olympics sport and therefore the IOC has no jurisdiction in the matter.

Nigeria's Abraham Ordio countered this, saying, "We are not talking about rugby. As far as we are concerned, it could have been table tennis, football or cycling. We are talking about relationships with countries which support apartheid sports."

Musa Keni Kasanka, the leader of Zambia's Olympics delegation, explained, "We have been assessing this (pullout) for quite awhile. To us, we're in the front of the whole apartheid thing. Any nation that condones that, we just can't take part with them."

A strongly worded statement from Nigeria condemned the visit of New Zealand's rugby team to the racist, apartheid state while South African police "were committing wanton massacres of defenseless women and children. . . ."

The only regrets for the decision taken by the African nations and their allies were expressed by the head of Kenya's national Sports Council Isaac Lugonzo, who stated, ". . .We should have made a positive decision much earlier."

According to a *New York Times* source, "This protest is not limited to the . . .Olympic Games. It will continue. . ."

Already there has been discussion over whether this massive pullout over "political reasons" could bring about sanctions against participating nations, namely expulsion from the Olympic Games.

Kenya's Lugonzo rebuffed this threat by saying, "I think they are going to find it difficult to do that. They cannot keep all of Africa out."

The question of Taiwan, which occupied the limelight just a week ago, was finally resolved when the Taiwanese delegation packed its bags and went home.

Despite numerous attempts by Canada, Taiwan and the IOC to arrive at a compromise, the Canadian government refused to back down on the principle that the People's Republic of China is the sole, legitimate representative of the Chinese people. □

Jury Deliberations Begin In S.Q.6 Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

mayhem since 1968, and his actions on August 21, 1971, were taken in self-defense.

•Luis Talamentez, 33, represented by attorney Robert Carow. Talamantez' defense asserted that the Mexican-born defendant was not at all involved with the AC events on the 21st. Indeed, the only evidence against Talamentez is that a guard heard — not saw — someone, somewhere say something in Spanish.

•Fleeta Drumgo, 28, represented by attorney Michael Dufficy. Former "Soledad Brother" Drumgo is accused of kicking Krasnes in the head, when the late guard was tied hand and foot in the AC corridor. A picture of Drumgo's shoes in his cell, taken after the incident, discloses the lie.

•Willie Tate, 30, represented by attorney John Hill. Tate's defense centers around the assertion of "mistaken identity," plus the fact that he was still locked in his AC cell at the time he is said to have escorted, bound and gagged several hostage guards.

•David Johnson, 29, represented by public defender Frank Cox. Johnson's defense, similar to Tate's who was in the next cell, holds that he also was still in his cell during the bloodletting. Johnson was the only one of the Six not to present a defense during the trial, relying on Cox's closing arguments to establish his innocence.

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 3 of attorney Charles Garry's two and a half day closing argument in behalf of Johnny Larry Spain.

GARRY: "Unless you go a step further and say that there was a collusion, a collusion between George Jackson and various custodial officers who were working hand in hand, hand in hand to see that George Jackson received weapons as the prosecution wants you to believe that he wanted to.

"Unless it's done that way, unless it's an inside cooperation, there is no way in the world that you and I could bring anything into that prison.

"You know Mr. Herman told you why is it that Vanita Anderson remained and hung around on a Saturday afternoon until such time as Mr. Bingham was finished with that visit with Mr. Jackson? The answer is obvious, isn't it?

"One of my friends outside of this case, who heard that remark by Mr. Herman, called me to tell me. She said, 'I hate to impose upon your intelligence, but it seems to me that the reason that she waited all that time was to get her tape recorder and her attache case from Mr. Bingham.'

"The answer is obvious, isn't it? And yet Mr. Herman wants you to believe that that overcomes his responsibility and his duty to prove the defendants guilty beyond a reasonable doubt and to a moral certainty."

TO BE CONTINUED



Aerial view of San Quentin inmates lying naked and hogtied in prison courtyard following August 21, 1971, murder of George Jackson.

Infiltration Of Chicago Teacher Groups

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

in 1974. The latter operation involved use of covert political sabotage.

PRO-SHANKER WING

Sheli Lulkin was always identified with members of the pro-Shanker wing of the AFT nationally and in Cook County. Her rise in the Chicago AFT was described as "meteoric." She reportedly attended the Mexico City 1975 International Women's Year Conference with the AFT delegation. That group was known for strongly opposing Third World resolutions at the Conference, including a resolution against the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) that was introduced by Chilean exiles. The AIFLD has been exposed as having been in close contact and cooperation with the CIA.

The use of Lulkin's position in the AFT is under continuing investigation

Various groups are also investigating the possible link with other broad-based groups sponsored by the AFL-CIO.□



Azanian (South African) women militantly protest the "pass laws" of their country.

U.N. Report Condemns Sharpeville Massacre

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

The pass system was deliberately chosen because: (1) it is the lynchpin of apartheid; and (2) of all the apartheid laws none is as pervasive, and few are as perverted, as the pass laws. They show no respect for the sanctity of marriage—men are forcibly separated from their wives or vice-versa because one of them cannot obtain the permit to reside in the same area. They tear away children from their parents: a child above the age of 16 needs a special permit to live with its parents outside the Bantustan reservation, otherwise it must find accommodation in one of the location barracks they call hostels in South Africa.

They deny men and women the universal right to sell their labor to whom they choose: every African man or woman seeking employment has to obtain a special permit to look for work — within a limited period, usually 14 days — otherwise they face deportation to the "homeland" (Bantustan reservation they most likely have never known). The indignities are legion and falling foul with any of the pass law regulations leaves an African open to arrest and imprisonment. Sentences are most frequently served out on prison farms, under the most primitive conditions.

The best know African campaign before Sharpeville was the potato boycott. It came as a result of exposures in newspapers like the *Post* about conditions for African prisoners in the potato prison farms of Bethal, in the Eastern Transvaal. Investigative reporters found that prisoners are dressed in nothing but sacks, they sleep on damp cement floors and are out working the potato fields with bare hands from the crack of dawn until dusk. They are continuously whipped by the jailers on horse back, and the one meal a day they eat is always half-cooked dried maize without any protein. Many die from disease and torture before they complete the relatively short terms of imprisonment, between two and six months.

The pass laws, therefore, affect every living Black person in Azania. A campaign aimed at liquidating this obnoxious system automatically enjoys support of every African man, woman and child. PAC aimed at striking a death blow at this cornerstone of apartheid fascism with its very first campaign.

In his final message to all Party branches and regions, on the eve of the campaign, Mr. Subukwe explained that the principal aim of the campaign is to get enough of the Black labor force behind bars. He said:

"Industry will come to a standstill and the government will be forced to accept our terms. And once we score that victory, there will be nothing else we will not be able to tackle."

Contrary to less informed opinion, Mr. Sobukwe did recognize that the campaign's total victory would be sabotaged.

TO BE CONTINUED

"Bingo Long" High-Spirited

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21

learn the techniques of dancing and parading through the small Black towns in the Midwest and South, drumming up a crowd for the day's baseball game.

However, pressure from the dastardly evil villains, the Negro League owners (which escalates from extortion to theft to murderous assault) forces our heroes to seek games with White teams — "something America will never run out of," Charlie Snow quips, "White people."

Thus, the joy-filled parades end — parades of Black folks having a good time, marvelously filmed to capture the feelings of togetherness, of excitement, as young and old grouped around the uniformed, barnstorming team — as the All-Stars are forced to "shine" for the White audience. Bingo, at one point, pitches a game in a gorilla costume. All the while, though, the All-Stars play dazzling baseball, the long home runs, the superb outfield catches, the behind-the-back double plays.

Finally, the battle between the owners and Bingo Long leads to a classic showdown: a winner-take-all match between the All-Stars and the League's best. If the League team wins, the All-Stars disband; if the All-Stars win, they're accepted into the League. And, in a final "dirty deed," the main owner/villain kidnaps the All-Star's best hitter, holding him captive in the basement of his fabulous funeral home.

TWO OUTS

It's two outs, bottom of the 9th, the All-Stars are losing 1 to 0, but have a runner on first. . .

Throughout the film, *Bingo Long* comes across with just enough tension to move the story along, a lot of warmth and basic, down-to-earth emotions. Williams, Jones and Pryor all handsomely fit their roles, and are finely cast. Ted Ross as Salle Porter, the hard-hearted Black owner, and Stan Shaw as Esquire Joe, a gangling, God-awful strong and talented rookie who, in his torn overalls, joins the All-Stars during their barnstorming stage, deserve particular mention and applause.

Bingo Long ends with an interesting twist of fate, marking the end of an era and the beginning of another, leaving the audience with a certain nostalgia for bygone times most of us never lived through and would never want to live through if we were in our right senses. *Bingo Long's* that kind of film, positive to the max.□

Letters to the Editor

ADVOCATES SOCIALIST REFORMS

Dear Editor,

The heart of any political program is the philosophy and ideology which presupposes it. And the agitation for that program is best undertaken with a view to the propagation of those ideas, than to the proposals themselves, the former being fundamental to the movement, and the latter secondary, arising from them and being rational only upon that foundation.

Some proposals oppose our thought to the prevailing view with stark clarity, and it is upon them that greater and more frequent emphasis must be laid, and no proposal could better, nor advantageously, bring us into struggle than the proposition:

that yearly personal income should be limited to an amount, which equals what the lowest paid worker could earn in a life time.

With this proposal, the struggle to create a socialist majority is heightened.

Commensurate with this reform, the welfare of the rich becomes dependent upon that of the poor and the construction of a socialist state is begun.

No one can forsee with any accuracy the route which will take us from the one place to the other, but certainly some steps must precede others, and unless socialists are the masses of the people its difficult to see how the journey can even be undertaken.

It is to the building of that majority to which the proposal lends itself, and to which we must bend our efforts, for even in the working toward that reform, we may hope to see benefits which promote the happiness of our people, even though they remain on the outside of our movement.

Our people are divided along racial, sexual, and ethnic lines, of which characteristics all are powerless to do anything about. The antagonisms result from the drive for individual advantage and class mobility, which has its motive force in the increased industrialization, and inevitable by political isolation, which has cut even most of the ruling circle off from their ideological and philosophical character, preventing self knowledge, and leaving even them without freedom — most grievously, the freedom to keep their philosophy to themselves, thus preventing the emergence of a situation of each one for himself — anarchy, social collapse — with its associated agonies, anxieties, and pointless violence.

It is, then, for the happiness and welfare of our communities, that I encourage the advocacy of this proposal. And more precisely, its socialist advocacy, more benefit being inherent in that, than its passage.

Richard E. Malkowski
Chicago, Ill. 60614

CLOSING OF EAST OAKLAND DRUG ABUSE CLINIC PROTESTED

To the Editor:

We, the undersigned members of EAST OAKLAND DRUG ABUSE PROGRAM, protest the proposed closing of the East Oakland Drug Abuse Clinic and its being combined with Eden Methadone Clinic at Fairmount Hospital in San Leandro, because,

1) We must receive daily medication of methadone.
2) Group and individual counseling, as well as medical service must be available to us at any time. Especially in times of emergency.
3) EAST OAKLAND DRUG ABUSE CLINIC, located at 6400 Foothill Blvd, Oakland, serves the area from 1st Avenue to the San Leandro line and from the Estuary to the hills. Also include in this area the City of Alameda.
4) The distances that would have to be traveled from this area to the Eden Methadone Clinic at Fairmont Hospital, 150th Avenue in San Leandro, would be prohibitive for us, and most of us lack the funds to pay transportation to Eden Clinic. This would create a great hardship for us and would force many of us to return to the "street" to "hustle" for hard drugs.
5) It is estimated that an addict with a small $50.00 dollar a day habit must steal $38,000 dollars a year to support that habit. Thus, there is no question but that, in this high crime rate area, crime would jump considerably.
6) Some of us are homemakers who must bring our babies and children with us when we get our medication. Some of us are pregnant. It would be almost impossible for us to pay for transportation to 150th Avenue let alone dragging our children that long distance. It could possibly take two or three hours a day travel time each and every day.
7) Increasing the membership at Eden from a present population of 150 to (including ours at 6400 Foothill Boulevard; of 100) 250 members, would deny us adequate services, counseling, group therapy and very important medical service.
8) Those of us employed, would find our jobs too far from Eden Clinic to enable us to get there and back to our jobs on time. This would put our employment in jeopardy.
9) We contend that the EAST OAKLAND COMMUNITY is being denied a vital clinic, that if closed would cause great harm to the residents of this Community and all who must be serviced by EAST OAKLAND DRUG ABUSE CLINIC, 6400 Foothill Boulevard; Oakland, and pray that it will be allowed to remain open.

THEREFORE, we most vehemently protest the closing of EAST OAKLAND DRUG ABUSE CLINIC, 6400 Foothill Blvd.; Oakland, and pray that it will be allowed to remain open.

Angola Coffee

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

ment needed 170,000 coffee pickers.

In the past, thousands of coffee pickers used to migrate from the South to the northern plantations but the sources said they have not done so this year. Many of these pickers live in an area of Angola which was dominated in the fighting by the losing National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and large numbers have fled their homes to live in the bush, the sources added.

Another problem for the new government is the administration of big plantations which were abandoned by the Portuguese, who possessed all the necessary expertise. The Portuguese have been replaced to a certain extent by Angolans and by Cuban advisers, but Nascimento himself observed that Cuba was not a big coffee producer, indicating that the Cubans do not have extensive expert knowledge.

Little detailed information is available here about the situation on the plantations but sources said that coffee trees on many plantations went untended last year because of the turmoil in Angola. This meant, the sources said, that the crop inevitably would suffer this year.

Another acute problem confronting the MPLA is a shortage of transportation. Hundreds of trucks either were immoblized or shipped out of the country at the time of independence and officials admit there are not enough to meet their needs.

The Angolan government, however, is making a major effort to make a success of the coffee harvest with mass campaigns on the official radio and the semiofficial press. All the indications are that "Operation Coffee," whatever the difficulties, will bring in some valuable foreign exchange for Angola and strengthen the country's economy.□

I-Hotel Tenants

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

aged the building. The fire department condemned the building but the tenants still refused to move. Shorenstein, one of San Francisco's largest developers, gave in, but tripled the rents and passed on the cost of repairs to the tenants. All this was done in return for a three-year lease.

When this lease expired in 1972, tenants offered to buy the building but learned that it had been sold to Four Seas, which has led to the current struggle.□



DENNIS BANKS and his wife KAMOOK as they celebrate a recent court victory.

A.I.M. Activists Acquitted

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Since the famous 1973 Wounded Knee occupation, there have been over 250 murders of Native Americans on the Pine Ridge Reservation, the majority of them the result of FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) repression.

Kunstler contended that this environment led the Indians to believe that they were under an FBI attack on June 26 and caused them to respond in self-defense.

A highlight of this trial were the appearance of FBI Director Clarence Kelley and Senator Frank Church, who is chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Both were subpoenaed by the defense.

SEVERAL LIES

Kelley was caught in several lies by Kunstler (see last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER) and was forced to admit, under intense questioning, that AIM was listed as a "terrorist organization" in the FBI's June, 1976, issue *Domestic Terrorist Digest.*

During his testimony, Church claimed that his Senate committee never investigated AIM that deeply, therefore making it impossible for him to make any specific comments. Kunstler was successful in proving that AIM was singled out for FBI repression.

Altogether, four Indian activists were charged with the killing of the two FBI agents. A trial date for the two other defendants, James Eagle and Leonard Peltier, has not been set. Peltier is currently in Canada fighting his extradition.□

F.B.I. Agent Takes "Fifth" 80 Times

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Furrer even refused to answer questions which dealt, with whether he had been involved in break-ins before July 1, 1971. He could not have incriminated himself because of the five-year statute of limitations which applies to such crimes.

In a related development, certain law enforcement sources have told *The New York Times* that FBI agents committed widespread acts of unauthorized lawlessness, including the burning of automobiles, assaults and illegal wiretapping.

The sources, who are reportedly deeply familiar with the Bureau's "domestic security" operations, said that they believed the current Justice Department investigation would uncover other acts of wrongdoing.

Agents placed illegal or "wildcat" telephone taps and electronic bugs, the sources said, after FBI orders specifically forbade the activity, because they were supposed to be the best methods of gathering information.

Reports would then be disguised so it would seem that they were obtained from live informants.

One source, reports the *Times*, believed that supervisory FBI personnel were aware that information was coming from taps but did nothing about it.

Cars were set afire with molotov cocktails to make it appear that car burnings were attacks from other radical groups while antiwar leaders were roughed up from time to time to frighten them, to disrupt a demonstration or protest activity.

The *Times* also revealed that another widespread practice was to use credentials from the New York Police Department and other state, federal and local agencies to establish "pretext identities" that would permit agents to make entries or get information without being connected with the FBI. One source sated that he had often posed as a sanitation inspector in order to enter and search a premise without a search warrant.□

Dallas Tenants

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

that over 80 per cent of the 140 tenants in the complex were withholding their rent and depositing money orders with the tenants' association.

The strike started when tenants began receiving electricity bills which ran as high as $20 a week. This occurred after the apartment manager, Ruben Willis, received permission from HUD — which "regulates" the apartments — to charge tenants individually.

Also, Willis deactivated the building's central air conditioning and then began renting window units for $5 a month with a $30 installation fee.

Tenants have overheard Willis boasting, "I'm going to make these niggers pay for my 1976 Cadillac."

After initiating the rent strike, the tenants, led by the Black Panther Party, met with HUD officials and demanded an investigation of the apartments.

The investigation was held and almost half of the apartments in the 172-unit West Park Apartments were found "not in habitable condition." The report also stated that Oman was probably in default of the regulatory agreement he had with HUD.



FRED BELL, Dallas BPP Chapter coordinator, talks with residents of West Park Apartments.

"The rundown condition was brought about by inefficient maintenance operations," the report concluded. Under the regulatory agreement, the owner must repair problems cited by HUD inspectors within one year. A HUD source stated that the problems of rats, leaking roofs and fixtures, damaged ceilings and unpainted walls were the same problems recorded in previous inspections by HUD.

In the settlement reached with Oman by the tenants' association four main points were agreed upon.

They were:

1) The demotion of Ruben Willis (who had a practice of using a gun to collect rents) to assistant manager. This was, in fact, a compromise since the tenants wanted him fired;

2) The establishment of a repair fund which would be made up from 90 per cent of the rent due from the strike. The remaining 10 per cent would be returned to the tenants;

3) The establishment of a more precise system for computing light bills for each tenant; and

4) The drawing up of a tenants' lease.□

Milwaukee Woman Continues Struggle

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

member, Pat Holland, "Mrs. Jones is now faced with the problem of locating, in a couple of days, something the city could not find in three months.

"The city has admitted that there isn't adequate housing available for people," Ms. Holland said, "and the city government has been trying to find a place for three months. Still, they expect Mrs. Jones to find a decent home in a few days."

The city has ordered Mrs. Jones to vacate the city-owned house at the end of the month. "Right now," she says, "all I can do is look. Lord knows what will happen when the sheriff comes to move me out and I don't have anywhere to go."

For over two years Mrs. Jones has fought against the city of Milwaukee in order to gain decent housing. At her present dwelling she would call up the city time after time in order to get certain housing code violations corrected.

"I would call them up," she says, "and they would send someone, but it seems like the next day it would go wrong again."

MLS attorney Larry Farris said of her court victory: "The city wouldn't repair the home, despite the fact they were in violation of the law, which made our case easy."

In a recent press conference, Mrs. Jones appealed to the Milwaukee community for aid since the city government has not provided her with adequate housing.□

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PUBLIC HOUSING U.S.A.

STORY BY THE PEOPLE,
ILLUSTRATIONS BY EMORY

"HELLO, PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY. THIS IS A TENANT OF YOUR SLUM HOUSING CALLING YOU AGAIN."





"I HAVE RATS AND ROACHES IN MY APARTMENT. IT NEEDS EFFECTIVE EXTERMINATION."





"I HAVE A STOPPED UP TOILET AND A LEAKY SINK."

"MY HOUSE HASN'T BEEN PAINTED IN YEARS."

"WE NEED MORE GARBAGE PICK-UP."



"I AM DISABLED, LIVE ON THE THIRD FLOOR, HAVE NO ELEVATOR AND VERY POOR LIGHTS."



"MY CHILDREN HAVE NO PLACE TO PLAY."



"STAIRS THAT NEED REPAIR ARE HAZARDOUS TO OUR HEALTH."



"STOP THE POLICE HARASSMENT."

YEARS PASS AND NOTHING HAPPENS.

ACTION

TO BE CONTINUED